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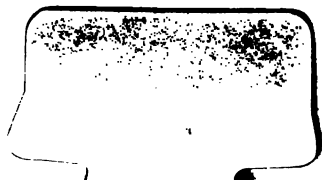
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**MANUAL OF JEWISH HISTORY
AND LITERATURE**



MANUAL OF JEWISH HISTORY AND LITERATURE

PRECEDED BY

A BRIEF SUMMARY OF BIBLE HISTORY

BY

DR. D. CASSEL

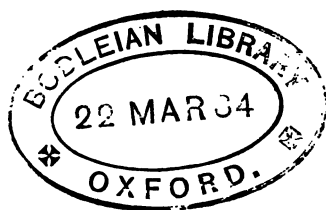
TRANSLATED BY

MRS. HENRY LUCAS

London

MACMILLAN AND CO.

1883



Printed by R. & R. CLARK, Edinburgh.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

It is frequently noticed and deplored that Jewish children are very insufficiently instructed in the post-Biblical history of the Jews. This defect has been largely due to the want of a good text-book of later Jewish history, which, in a moderate compass, should present the main facts with clearness and precision. Without such a guide teachers and school-managers are naturally afraid to venture in their course of instruction beyond the well-trodden pathway of Biblical narrative. In Germany this want has been well supplied by Dr. Cassel's *Leitfaden für den Unterricht in der jüdischen Geschichte und Literatur*. This little book has gone through many editions, and is widely used in the Jewish schools of Germany. These facts and the well-known name of Dr. Cassel are a sufficient guarantee for its accuracy and value. There being no indication of the appearance of a similar work by any Anglo-Jewish scholar, the present translation has been undertaken, in the hope that it may prove as useful in this country as the original has

long been found in Germany. It has been made from the fifth German edition, and corresponds with it in all respects, except that the Appendix on the Geography of Palestine has been omitted.

A short section (for which the translator is indebted to another hand) has been added, dealing with the history of the Jews in England after their return to this country during the protectorate of Cromwell. The limits and nature of Dr. Cassel's book precluded him from allotting much space to this portion of his subject, which has obviously an especial interest for English children. It therefore seemed advisable to give the main incidents of the history of the Jews in England, but no attempt has been made at completeness.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THIS little book, which I now place in the hands of teachers and pupils, is due to the want of a manual of this kind, which I have myself felt, and to my endeavours to supply that want while giving lessons on the subject. Use and the opinion of those competent to judge will decide whether its form and contents are such as to ensure its answering the purpose for which it has been written. I shall gratefully receive and carefully consider any hints or alterations which practical experience in the use of the manual may suggest.

The summary of Bible history (a knowledge of which is taken for granted before the rest of the book is studied) is primarily intended for repetition in the more advanced classes; but in the hands of an intelligent teacher it may also be used as a groundwork for instruction in Bible history, where no special means have been previously provided for such teaching. Those who are qualified to judge such matters will consider me justified in having re-

tained the chronology that dates from the Creation for the pre-Mosaic period *only*, and also in having given no dates whatever for the time from Joshua to David, during which Biblical chronology fails us.

The bare outline to which the magnitude of the materials before me and the necessarily small size of the book have alike compelled me to limit myself, make the teacher's explanations and amplifications constantly desirable. I am aware that not every master can be expected to go through the course of study necessary for this purpose, besides which the large works already extant on Jewish history are not likely—irrespective of their special scientific value—to be of much use to the teacher preparing for instruction. The reception accorded to this little volume will decide whether or no I should complete this work, which is intended entirely for practical use, and lays no claim to any scientific importance, by publishing, on the same system as the present one, another enlarged and more detailed manual of Jewish history and literature.¹

¹ This larger work was published by Dr. Cassel in 1878, under the title of *Lehrbuch der jüdischen Geschichte und Literatur*.—[A. L.]

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SUMMARY OF BIBLE HISTORY

FROM THE CREATION TO THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY.

FIRST PERIOD.

From the Creation to the Deluge.

Creation of the world in six days :—

The first day : light.

The second day : the firmament (or heaven.)

The third day : land and water. Vegetation.

The fourth day : the sun, moon, and stars.

The fifth day : birds and fishes.

The sixth day : animals of every kind. The first man and woman : Adam and Eve.

The seventh day : the day of rest.

The Garden of Eden (Paradise). Its four principal rivers : Pison (the Indus or Ganges), Gihon (the Nile), Hiddekel (the Tigris), Euphrates.

Adam and Eve's banishment from Paradise. Their sons, Cain and Abel. Cain a tiller of the ground. Abel a shepherd. Cain kills Abel.

2 8

B

The descendants of Cain: his son Enoch (after whom he called the city he built). Enoch's son Irad. Irad's son Mehujael. Mehujael's son Methusael. Methusael's son Lamech.

Lamech's two wives Adah and Zillah. Adah was the mother of Jabal (who lived in tents and kept cattle) and Jubal (the inventor of musical instruments). Zillah was the mother of Tubal-cain (inventor of brass and iron work) and his sister Naamah.

The ten generations from Adam to Noah :—

Adam died aged 930 years, in the year 930 after the creation.

Seth, Adam's son, born 130, died aged 912 in 1042.

Enos, Seth's son, born 235, died aged 905 in 1140.

Cainan, Enos's son, born 325, died aged 910 in 1235.

Mahalaleel, Cainan's son, born 395, died aged 895 in 1290.

Jared, Mahalaleel's son, born 460, died aged 962 in 1422.

Enoch, Jared's son, born 622, died aged 365 in 987.

Methuselah, Enoch's son, born 687, died aged 969 in 1656.

Lamech, Methuselah's son, born 874, died aged 777 in 1651.

Noah, Lamech's son, born 1056, died aged 950 in 2006.

In consequence of the corruption and wickedness of mankind, a great flood is brought upon the world, and only Noah and his wife and their three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth (born 1556), and their wives, are preserved alive. Commencement of the flood on the 17th day of the 2nd month, 1656. End of the flood on the 27th day of the 2nd month, 1657. Noah offers a thank-offering. The rainbow. The year is divided into twelve months, and each month into thirty days. Noah cultivates the ground and plants vineyards; he curses Ham, and blesses Shem and Japheth.

SECOND PERIOD.

From the Flood to Abraham.

The descendants of the sons of Noah scatter themselves over the whole earth. (See page 4).

Building of the tower of Babel. Founding of the kingdom of Babel by Nimrod. Founding of the kingdom of Assyria, capital Nineveh. The Canaanites (Phœnicians) inhabit Palestine from Sidon to Gaza and Sodom.

The ten generations from Shem to Abraham:—

Shem, Noah's son, born 1558, died aged 600 in 2158.

Arphaxad, Shem's son, born 1658, died aged 438 in 2096.

Salah, Arphaxad's son, born 1693, died aged 433 in 2126.

Eber, Salah's son, born 1723, died aged 464 in 2187.

Peleg, Eber's son, born 1757, died aged 239 in 1996.

Reu, Peleg's son, born 1787, died aged 239 in 2026.

Serug, Reu's son, born 1819, died aged 230 in 2049.

Nahor, Serug's son, born 1849, died aged 148 in 1997.

Terah, Nahor's son, born 1878, died aged 205 in 2083.

Abram (Abraham), Terah's son, born 1948 in Ur of the Chaldees.

TABLE OF NATIONS (Genesis x.)

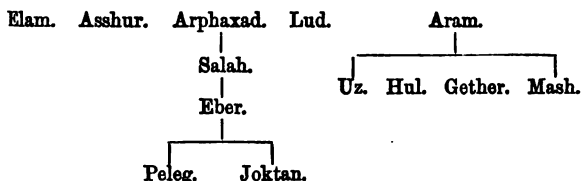
I.—JAPHETH (Europe.)

| Gomer. | Magog. | Madai. | Javan. | Tubal. | Meshech. | Tiras. |
|-----------|---------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|----------|
| Ashkenaz. | Rijath. | Togarmah. | Elishah. | Tarshish. | Kittim. | Dodanim. |

II.—HAM (Africa).

| Cush. | Mizraim. | Phut. | Canaan. |
|------------|--|-------|----------|
| Seba. | Ludim. | | Sidon. |
| Havilah. | Ananim. | | Heth. |
| Sabta. | Lehabim. | | Jebusi. |
| Raamah. | Naphtuhim. | | Amori. |
| Sabtechah. | Pathrusim. | | Girgasi. |
| | Caslubim (from whom the Philistines were descended). | | Hivi. |
| | Capthorim. | | Arki. |
| | | | Sini. |
| | | | Arreadi. |
| | | | Zemari. |
| | | | Hamathi. |

III.—SHEM (Asia).



The three sons of Terah are: Abram, Nahor, Haran; the latter dies young in the land of his birth—Ur of the Chaldees.

Abram marries Sarai (born 1958), and Nahor marries Milcah the daughter of Haran.

Terah journeys towards Canaan with Abram, Lot the son of Haran, and his family, and dies in Haran (2083).

THIRD PERIOD.

From Abraham to Jacob's Migration
into Egypt.

Abram leaves his father's dwelling in Haran (2023) and journeys to Canaan with his wife and Lot, his brother's son. He traverses the land southward, and builds altars in Beth-el and Sichem. In consequence of a famine, he goes for a time to Egypt, whence he returns greatly enriched, and encamps again at Beth-el.

Lot separates himself from Abram and goes to Sodom. Defeat of the kings of Sodom and others in the vale of Siddim by Amraphel, Chedorlaomer, and others. Lot is taken captive, and freed by Abram. Melchizedek, king of Salem.

"The covenant between the pieces." Divine promise of numerous posterity to Abraham.

Abram marries the Egyptian maidservant Hagar: her son Ishmael, born 2034.

Abram's name is changed to Abraham, Sarai's to Sarah. The institution of the sign of the covenant, 2047.

Abraham in the plains of Mamre in Hebron. Destruction of Sodom, Amora, Admah, Zeboim. Lot is saved; his two sons are Moab and Ammon. Abraham removes his dwelling-place to the south of Canaan, and lives in Gerar, and afterwards at Beersheba. Isaac, the son of Abraham and Sarah, born 2048. Banishment of Hagar and Ishmael. Abraham's covenant with Abimelech, king of the Philistines. Abraham is commanded to offer up Isaac—an angel prevents the sacrifice. Renewed promise of posterity.

Sarah dies in Hebron, 2085, aged 127. Abraham purchases the cave of Machpelah in Hebron for four hundred pieces of silver, as a burial-place. The steward of his house (Eliezer) journeys to Haran and fetches thence Rebecca, the daughter of Bethuel, the son of Nahor, as a wife for Isaac, 2088.

Keturah, Abraham's second wife, becomes the

mother of chiefs of Arabian tribes, of whom Midian is the best known. Abraham dies, aged 175, 2123, and is buried by Isaac and Ishmael in the cave of Machpelah. Ishmael has twelve sons, chiefs of Arabian tribes. He dies 2171, aged 137.

Esau and Jacob, the sons of Isaac and Rebecca, are born, 2108. Jacob purchases Esau's birthright for a pottage of lentils.

In consequence of a famine, Isaac journeys to Gerar, and there enriches himself by agriculture. Persecuted by the envy of the Philistines, who seek to deprive him of the wells he has digged, he departs from Gerar, but is afterwards followed by Abimelech, king of the Philistines, and induced to enter into a friendly alliance with him.

Esau marries (2148) two Caananitish women, to the great grief of his parents; later (2185) also a daughter of Ishmael.

Jacob's cunning gains from his blind father the blessing intended for Esau, and, fearing Esau's revenge, he flees from Beer-sheba to Haran, the dwelling-place of Laban, his mother's brother. Jacob's dream at Beth-el. He enters Laban's service (2185) and marries (2192) his daughters Leah and Rachel, and their handmaids Zilpah and Bilhah. Eleven sons and one daughter are born to him in Haran. The sons of Leah: Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, and a daughter Dinah. The son of Rachel: Joseph (born 2199). The sons

of Bilhah : Dan and Naphtali. The sons of Zilpah : Gad and Asher.

After remaining with Laban for twenty years, Jacob departs from him secretly (2205), with his wives and children, his flocks and herds. Laban follows, and is reconciled to him, and they enter into a covenant at Gilead.

Jacob, now a rich man, reconciles himself with Esau, who has forgotten his anger ; he purchases a field at Shechem. Jacob comes to Beth-el and builds an altar there. Near Ephrath (Bethlehem) Rachel gives birth to a son, Benjamin, and dies. The pillar on her grave.

Jacob comes to Hebron to his father Isaac. The latter dies aged 180 in 2228, and is buried by his two sons, Esau and Jacob, in the cave of Machpelah.

Jacob dwells in Hebron. Joseph is sold by his brethren and is taken to Egypt, 2216. Pharez and Zarah, the sons of Judah and Tamar.

Joseph in Potiphar's house, and afterwards in prison. At the age of thirty he interprets Pharaoh's two dreams, and becomes Viceroy of Egypt, 2229. His two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim.

Joseph's brethren come to Egypt to buy corn, 2236. Jacob and his whole family, numbering seventy souls, journey to Egypt and settle in the land of Goshen.

FOURTH PERIOD.

The Israelites in Egypt.

Jacob dies in 2255, aged 147, seventeen years after coming to Egypt; his body is embalmed, taken to Canaan, and buried in the cave of Machpelah. Joseph dies in 2309, aged 110. Levi dies, aged 137; his three sons are Gershon, Kohath, and Merari.

The Israelites become exceedingly numerous. The Egyptians compel them to hard labour; they build Pithom (Thum, Pathumas) and Raamses (afterwards Hero, Heropolis).

The sons of Kohath are: Amram, Tzhar, Hebron, and Uzziel. Miriam, daughter of Amram and Jochebed; Aaron, her brother, born 1578, before the Christian era.

The king of Egypt commands the Israelitish midwives Shiprah and Puah to kill all the new-born sons of the Israelites. Shiprah and Puah, being God-fearing women, disobey the king's command. The king thereupon orders all new-born male children to be thrown into the Nile.

Moses, son of Amram and Jochebed, is born 1575. At the age of three months his mother lays him in an ark on the banks of the Nile, where he is found by the king's daughter and brought up as her son. When grown to manhood he kills an Egyptian and escapes to Midian, where he marries Zipporah, the daughter of the priest Jethro. His sons, Gershom and Eliezer.

In obedience to the divine command Moses returns to Egypt; in conjunction with Aaron he announces to the Israelites their coming deliverance, and demands of the king to allow the Israelites to depart. (The king's capital, Zoan (Tanis) in Lower Egypt.) Pharaoh refuses to allow them to depart. The ten plagues. The departure of the Israelites from Egypt on the 15th day of the 1st month, 1495. The paschal-offering. The feast of unleavened bread. The Israelites journey south-eastwards from Raamses to Succoth, thence to Etham, thence south-westwards back to Pi-hahiroth, over against Baal-zephon (not far from what is now Suez), by the Red Sea. They pass through the sea, in which the Egyptians, pursuing after them, are destroyed.

FIFTH PERIOD.

The Israelites in the Desert, 1495-1455.

From the Red Sea the Israelites now journey to the wilderness of Shur, and come to Marah (now the well of Ain Hamara), thence they proceed to the oasis of Elim (now Wadi Gurundel); and on the 15th day of the 2nd month they come into the wilderness of Sin, between Elim and Sinai. The manna is given them for food. They are forbidden to collect it on the Sabbath.

From the wilderness of Sin they journey to Rephidim, where water is brought out of the rock

(Massah and Meribah), and where Joshua repulses the attack of the Amalekites. Jethro brings Moses his wife and children. The appointment of judges.

On the 1st day of the 3rd month the Israelites come into the wilderness of Sinai. Revelation at Sinai (Horeb). The ten commandments. Moses remains on the mount forty days, during which time Aaron and Hur take his place in the camp. The worship of the golden calf. Moses punishes the transgressors and returns to the mount, where he again remains for forty days. The two tables of the testimony.

Building of the tabernacle under Bezaleel and Aholiab. Completion and dedication of the tabernacle on the 1st day of the 1st month, 1494. Aaron and his sons appointed to the priesthood. Death of Nadab and Abihu. Celebration of the Passover.

The people are numbered on the 1st day of the 2nd month. The males of twenty years old and upwards number 603,550, besides the Levites of one month old and upwards, who are counted separately, and number 22,000.

Departure from Sinai on the 20th day of the 2nd month. After three days they reach the wilderness of Paran. Taberah (place of burning) and Kibroth-hattaavah (graves of those who lusted). Thence to Hazeroth in the wilderness of Paran. Sedition of Aaron and Miriam against Moses. Twelve men are *sent to search out the land*. Unsuccessful attempt of *a portion of the people to enter into Canaan*.

Places where the Israelites encamped after Hazeroth : Kithmah, Rimmon-parez, Libnah, Rissah, Kehlathath, Mount Shapher, Haradah, Makheloth, Tahath, Tarah, Mithcah, Hashmonah, Moseroth, Bene-jaakan, Hor-hagidgad, Jotbathah, Ebronah, Ezion-gaber, and finally Kadesh, in the wilderness of Zin, where they encamped for some considerable time.

Rebellion of Korah and his followers. Death of Miriam. Moses and Aaron sin at Meribah ("the waters of strife").

Moses sends messengers to the king of Edom asking permission to pass through his land. He refuses, as does also the king of Moab. As both these kingdoms, and also Ammon, are to be spared the Israelites have to go a long distance out of the direct road. They pass along the borders of Edom eastward to Mount Hor. Aaron dies on the 1st day of the 5th month, 1456. His son Eleazar becomes high priest in his stead.

The Canaanite king of Arad, fearing that the Israelites will enter Canaan from the south, attacks them, but is defeated. They then go northward east of Mount Seir, to Zalmonah, Punon, Abot, Ije-abarim, on the border of Moab; then over the brook Zared and to the Arnon, on the border of Moab. Encampments at Beer, Mattanah, Nahaliel, Dibon-gad, Almon, Diblathaim. Then to Mount Pisgah.

From Kedemoth, Moses sends messengers to Sihon, king of the Amorites in Heshbon, to ask for permission

sion to pass through his land. On his refusal, he is defeated at Jahaz; his kingdom is conquered, also the province of Jaazer. Og, king of Bashan, comes out to battle against the Israelites; he is defeated at Edrei, and his kingdom conquered. The Israelites encamp in the plains of Moab, opposite Jericho, to the east of Jordan, from Beth-jesimoth to Abel-shittim. Balak and Balaam.

The Midianites tempt the Israelites to idolatry. A great pestilence. Zeal of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar. War against Midian. Five princes of Midian and Balaam are slain.

Moses and Eleazar number the people. Of males of twenty years old and upwards, there are 601,730, besides the Levites (counted separately) of a month old and upwards, who number 23,000.

Moses appoints Joshua as his successor, as he himself is not to enter the promised land; and at the request of Reuben, Gad, and half the tribe of Manasseh, he allots to them the districts on the east side of Jordan, the conquest of which is completed.

In the plains of Moab, on the 1st day of the 11th month, Moses begins to address to the Israelites admonitions, repetitions, and supplements to the law. He gives the law to the priests, teaches the people his great song, blesses each of the tribes, and goes up into the mount Nebo. Thence he surveys the land of Canaan, and dies, aged 120, in 1455. The Israelites mourn for him for thirty days: his sepulchre is unknown unto this day.

SIXTH PERIOD.

From entering Canaan to the establishment of the Monarchy.

Joshua enters on his office; he sends spies to Jericho, and prepares to pass over Jordan. The Israelites pass over Jordan in the spring of 1455. Encampment in Gilgal. Celebration of the Passover. Fall of Jericho. The sin and punishment of Achan. Conquest of Ai. The Gibeonites are spared, and appointed to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the house of God.

Defeat of five kings—of Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon—at Gibeon. The sun stands still at the prayer of Joshua. The conquest of Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish, Eglon, Debir, and all the midland portion of Canaan. The camp is still at Gilgal.

The kings in the north of Canaan unite against Joshua, under the leadership of the king of Hazor. They are defeated by the waters of Merom, and their land is taken.

Joshua divides the land (of which some districts, especially in the south-west and north-west, are still unconquered) by lot among the nine and a half tribes. Judah, in the south, the half tribe of Manasseh in the north, and Ephraim in the midland, have already *conquered their portions*. For the other seven tribes, *Joshua sends out from Shiloh* (where the tabernacle

has been placed) three men for each tribe to describe the land and then to divide it by lot. Benjamin receives his portion between Judah and Ephraim; Simeon's dominion is surrounded by Judah's; Dan is to the west of Benjamin, in the east of Philistia; Issachar and Zebulun on the north and east of the half tribe of Manasseh. In the north, Asher is to the westward, and Naphtali to the eastward. Of the two and a half tribes on the east side of Jordan, Reuben is in the south, the half tribe of Manasseh in the north, and Gad between the two. As cities of refuge, to the west of Jordan, are appointed—(1) Kedesh, in Galilee (Naphtali), (2) Shechem (Ephraim), (3) Hebron (Judah); to the east of Jordan—(1) Bezer (Reuben), (2) Ramoth-Gilead (Gad), (3) Golan (Manasseh). Joshua himself receives the city of Timnath-serah in Ephraim.

Forty-eight towns are appointed for the Levites. The two and a half tribes return to their portions eastwards of Jordan. Agreement respecting the altar built by them.

Joshua's last speech to the people; he renews the covenant in Shechem. He dies, aged 110, and is buried in Timnath-serah. The bones of Joseph, which the people had brought up with them out of Egypt, are buried in Shechem; and Eleazar, the high priest, is buried in Gibeah, the portion of his son and successor, Phinehas.

Israel under the government of the Elders.

The want of a regular form of government begins

to be felt. The remnants of the Canaanite tribe especially those in the plains, tempt the Israelites to idolatry, and get the upperhand here and there. In times of need, different individuals arise and put themselves at the head of one or several tribes. They are called the Judges.

A portion of the tribe of Dan conquers Sechem (afterwards Dan), in the north of Canaan.

Chushan-rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia, makes the Israelites pay him tribute for eight years. Othniel conquers him. The land has rest forty years.

Shameful crime in Gibeah. War of the other tribes against Benjamin; the latter is almost completely destroyed. Phinehas is high priest. The ark of the covenant is in Beth-el.

Eglon, king of Moab, allied with Ammon and Amalek, harasses Israel for eighteen years. Ehud assassinates Eglon, puts himself at the head of Ephraim, and defeats the Moabites. The land has rest for eighty years.

Shamgar, the son of Anath, defeats the Philistines.

Jabin, the Canaanite king in Hazor, oppresses the Israelites for twenty years. Sisera, the captain of his host. Deborah, a prophetess, dwelling between Ramah and Beth-el, judges Israel at that time. She encourages Barak, the son of Abinadab of Kedesh-naphtali, to take the lead. Under the command of Deborah and Barak, the tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali unite with West Manasseh, Ephraim, and

Benjamin. Sisera is completely defeated at Megiddo, by the river Kishon; he escapes by flight, but is assassinated by Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite. The power of Hazor is overthrown. Israel has rest for forty years.

Midian oppresses Israel for seven years. Gideon (Jerubbaal), son of Joash in Aphrah, of the family of Abi-ezrite of the tribe of West Manasseh, places himself at the head of his tribe and defeats the Midianites with the help of Asher, Zebulun, and Naphtali, in the plain of Jezreel. With the help of Ephraim, he drives them over the Jordan, pursues them by way of Succoth and Penuel, and defeats them again to the east of Nabah and Jogbehah. Zebah and Zalmunna, the two Midianite kings, are slain. Gideon refuses the offer made to him of assuming the hereditary government. The land has rest for forty years. Gideon's seventy sons.

Abimelech, son of Gideon, lets himself be made king of Shechem, and kills his brothers, of whom only the youngest, Jotham, escapes. After three years Shechem rebels, and is destroyed by Abimelech; he himself falls at the siege of Thebez.

Tola, the son of Puah, of the tribe of Issachar, dwelling in Shamir, judges Israel for twenty-three years.

Jair, a Gileadite, judges Israel twenty-two years.

The Philistines and Ammonites harass Israel for eighteen years; the Ammonites cross the Jordan and attack the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Ephraim. The Israelites assemble in Mizpeh.

Jepthah, the Gileadite, is chosen as their leader. After fruitless negotiations with the king of Ammon war commences, and the Ammonites are completely defeated. Jepthah's vow. He humbles the tribe of Ephraim. He reigns six years.

Ibzan of Bethlehem judges Israel seven years. (Boaz and Ruth in Bethlehem.)

Elon, of the tribe of Zebulun, ten years. Abdon, the son of Hillel, a Pirathonite, eight years.

The southern tribes are oppressed by the Philistines. Samson, son of Manoah, of the tribe of Dan, judges Israel twenty years. His gigantic strength. After many successful achievements, he is taken prisoner by the treachery of Dalilah. His heroic death.

Eli and his two sons, Hophni and Phinehas, are priests in Shiloh. Samuel, the son of Elkanah and Hannah, is brought up by Samuel for the priesthood.

The Philistines defeat the Israelites at Aphek, and the latter fetch the ark of the covenant from Shiloh. The Israelites are again defeated, Hophni and Phinehas are slain, and the ark of the covenant falls into the hands of the Philistines. Eli dies on hearing the news of the defeat, aged ninety-eight years. Ichabod, the son of Phinehas, is born.

In consequence of various plagues by which they are visited, the Philistines send back the ark of the covenant; the inhabitants of Kirjath-Jearim carry it from Beth-shemesh to the house of Abinadab.

Samuel judges Israel. The assembly of the people and the sacrifices in Mizpeh. The Israelites defeat the Philistines, and recover their lost territories. Samuel's yearly circuits to Beth-el, Mizpeh, and Gilgal. His dwelling in Ramah : he builds an altar there. Schools for the prophets.

Samuel's sons, Joel and Abijah, judges in Beersheba, are unlike their father. The Israelites demand of Samuel to appoint them a king. Samuel resists in vain ; at last he anoints Saul, the son of Kish, and presents him to the people assembled at Mizpeh.

SEVENTH PERIOD.

The Three Kings : Saul, David, Solomon.

Saul, at first only recognised by a portion of the kingdom, soon wins universal homage by his resolute deliverance of Jabesh-Gilead, which is besieged by the Ammonites. Renewal of the kingdom in Gilgal. Samuel lays down his office.

Saul has a standing army of 3000 men. Successful wars of Saul and his son Jonathan against the Philistines, who had deprived the Israelites of their weapons. Ahiah, son of Ahitub, priest at Shiloh. Saul's successful wars against Moab, Ammon, Edom, Aram Gobah, and Amalek, whose people he almost entirely destroys, and whose king, Agag, is slain.

Samuel withdraws himself from Saul, and

anoints instead of him David the son of Jesse, of the tribe of Judah, in Bethlehem, born 1088.

Saul becomes melancholy ; David, who is a skilful harp-player, is sent to cheer him with his music.

The Philistine camp between Shochoh and Azekah, in Ephes-dammim. David slays the giant Goliath. Defeat and flight of the Philistines.

Jonathan makes a covenant of friendship with David. The great deeds of the latter increase his fame and excite the jealousy of Saul. After a perilous enterprise, David receives the hand of Michal, the daughter of Saul.

David escapes from Saul's repeated attacks on his life, first to Samuel in Ramah, then—being warned by Jonathan against returning to Saul—to the priest Ahimelech in Nob, who provides him with food and arms, and thence to Achish, king of Gath. Here also he finds himself in danger, and escapes only by feigning madness. He next seeks refuge in the cave of Adullam, where he is joined by his family, and collects a band of 400 men. He places his parents in safety with the king of Moab ; then, by the advice of the prophet Gad, he betakes himself to the wooded districts in the south of Judah. Joab, Abishai, and Asahel, the sons of Zeruiah, the sister of David, are among his boldest adherents.

Led by the information of Doeg the Edomite, Saul takes vengeance on Ahimelech and all his house ; only the youngest, Abiathar, escapes to David, whom *Saul pursues and persecutes more and more.* David,

after rescuing Keilah in Judah from the Philistines, who were plundering it, flies before Saul to the wilderness of Ziph, to Maon, and to En-gedi; he escapes from him with the utmost difficulty, but shows great generosity when Saul in his turn is in his power. In Maon, David marries Abigail, the widow of Nabal, after having already married Ahinoam of Jezreel.

In spite of Saul's persecutions, David's band of followers increases to 600 (by reinforcements from Gad, Judah, and Benjamin), and with these he protects the southern districts from the attacks of the Philistines, Amalekites, etc. At last he goes to Achish, king of Gath, who assigns to him the town of Ziklag. By taking part in a Philistine campaign against Saul, David clears himself from the suspicion with which the Philistine leaders regard him. He avenges himself on the Amalekites, who in his absence have plundered Ziklag, and divides his rich spoil among the cities of Judah.

Defeat and death of Saul and his three sons on Mount Gilboa; almost the whole of the north and central part of the country is in the hands of the Philistines. Abner escapes with Ish-bosheth, the son of Saul, to Mahanaim, on the other side of Jordan.

David is chosen king of the tribe of Judah, and takes Hebron for his dwelling-place, 1058.

After several years of warfare between the followers of Ish-bosheth and those of David, during

which Asahel is killed by Abner, the latter, offended by Ish-bosheth, goes over to David's side. Joab murders Abner to avenge the death of Asahel. David mourns for Abner.

After Ish-bosheth has been murdered by two Benjamites, David is made king over all Israel, 1051. He conquers Jerusalem and takes up his abode there. Tyrian workmen build him a palace there.

After establishing his sovereignty by successful wars against the Philistines, David fetches the ark of the covenant from the house of Abinadab, to bring it in solemn procession to Jerusalem. In consequence of the misfortune that befalls Uzzah, he leaves the ark for three months in the house of Obed-edom, after which he brings it into Zion with great rejoicing and festivity. He gives up his plan of building a temple at the bidding of the prophet Nathan, but collects treasure for that purpose, consisting principally of the spoil taken in war. Arrangements for divine service. The psalms of David.

Moab and Ammon become tributary; the Syrian districts, Zobah and Damascus, are conquered after severe struggles, in which Joab and Abishai distinguish themselves. David's sovereignty extends from the Euphrates to the Red Sea. David maintains Mephibosheth, Jonathan's lame son.

David sins against Uriah and Bathsheba; his penitence. Solomon, son of David and Bathsheba, born 1036.

Joab is the commander of the host, Jehoshaphat

the recorder, Zadok and Abiathar are the priests, and Benaiah is the commander of the king's guard, composed of Cherethites and Pelethites.

Discord among David's children. Absalom causes Ammon to be killed. In consequence, he is banished from the court, and is only allowed to return after several years through Joab's intercession.

Absalom's conspiracy: he lets himself be proclaimed king in Hebron. David is compelled to withdraw from Jerusalem, which Absalom enters. Ahithophel is the counsellor, and Amasa the captain of Absalom. David retreats to the east side of Jordan, whither Absalom follows him. At the battle of Mahanaim Absalom's army is completely defeated, and he himself is slain by Joab. David's grief at his death. David returns to Jerusalem and pardons his adversaries.

Sheba, the son of Bichri, renews the rebellion. Joab pursues him to Abel of Beth-maachah, where he takes refuge, but is killed by the inhabitants of the city. Joab treacherously murders Amasa, who has been appointed to be one of the captains of the host.

Famine in Israel. Seven men of Saul's family are slain at Gibeah to atone for Saul's breach of faith towards the Gibeonites. David's valiant warriors.

David numbers the people. This being against the divine will, he is punished by a pestilence among the people. *At the instigation of the prophet Gad, David buys the threshing-floor of Araunah, the*

Jebusite, on Mount Moriah, and builds an altar there.

In his extreme old age, his son Adonijah, assisted by Joab and Abiathar, attempts to seize the throne. David immediately has his son Solomon proclaimed king by Nathan, Zadok, and Benaiah. Adonijah is temporarily pardoned.

David dies at the age of seventy in 1018.

Solomon puts to death Adonijah, Joab, and Shimei, the son of Gera, and deprives Abiathar of his office. He marries the daughter of the king of Egypt.

Magnificence of Solomon's court. He builds splendid palaces. His wisdom. (Proverbs and Songs of Solomon.) His riches. He makes a league with Hiram, king of Tyre. The latter is to supply him with cedar and cypress wood, while he is to furnish Hiram with corn and oil.

The building of the temple; it is begun 480 years after the departure from Egypt, in the 2nd month of the 4th year of Solomon's reign (1015), and finished in the 8th month of the 11th year. The utensils are made by Hiram, son of a man of Tyre, and a woman of the tribe of Naphtali.

A solemn feast of fourteen days in the 7th month, 1007, at the consecration of the temple.

Solomon builds himself a splendid palace and a large arsenal. His ships sail from Ezion-geber to Ophir. Horses are brought to him from Egypt. The queen of Sheba visits Solomon; they exchange rich gifts.

Solomon's numerous wives ; they tempt him to idolatry. Signs of discontent among the people. The prophets Iddo and Ahijah (in Shiloh). Disturbances in Syria ; Hadad rebels in Edom.

Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, of the tribe of Ephraim, whom Solomon has made ruler over the charge of the house of Joseph, is suspected of rebellion, and persecuted by Solomon. He escapes to Shishak, king of Egypt.

Solomon dies 978 after having reigned forty years.

After his death Jeroboam returns from Egypt, places himself at the head of the disaffected, and calls on Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, to lessen their burdens and taxes. Rehoboam scornfully refuses, and the northern tribes (the "ten tribes") rebel against the house of David and make Jeroboam king. Judah and Benjamin remain faithful to Rehoboam. The division of the kingdom.

EIGHTH PERIOD.

The Kingdoms of Judah and Israel.

A. The Kingdom of Israel (The Ten Tribes), 978-720.

1. Jeroboam (978-956) fortifies Shechem, and makes it his capital ; he sets up golden calves in Dan and Beth-el, in order to prevent his subjects

from going to sacrifice at Jerusalem ; he institutes a new feast and makes priests not of the tribe of Levi. Warnings of an unnamed prophet and of Ahijah in Shiloh, whom Jeroboam consults respecting the illness of his son Abijah.

2. Nadab (956-955), son of Jeroboam, is murdered after a reign of barely two years by Baasha, of the tribe of Issachar. Long siege of the Philistine city Gibbethon.

3. Baasha (955-932), son of Ahijah, becomes king, destroys the whole house of Jeroboam, and establishes himself at Tirzah. He makes war against Asa, king of Judah, at whose instigation Ben-hadad, king of Syria in Damascus, ravages the northern provinces, so that Baasha is obliged to retreat. The prophet Jehu, son of Hanani.

4. Elah (932-931), the son of Baasha, is murdered in the second year of his reign by Zimri, captain of his chariots, who destroys the whole house of Baasha.

5. Zimri (931), after a reign of seven days, is besieged in Tirzah by Amri, whom the army, under his command at the siege of Gibbethon, has proclaimed king. Zimri sets fire to the palace and perishes in the flames.

6. Tibni, in opposition to Amri, soon dies.

7. Amri (931-919) purchases the hill Samaria of Shemer, builds thereon the town of Samaria (925), and makes it his capital. He conquers cities in *Damascus*,

8. Ahab (919-897), son of Amri, marries Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal, king of Zidon, and introduces the worship of Baal into the kingdom. Jezebel persecutes the prophets. Summer-palace in Jezreel. Hiel of Beth-el rebuilds Jericho. The prophet Elijah, of Tishbite, prophesies to Ahab long-continued drought, and takes refuge in the valley of Cherith, then in Zarephath, near Zidon, in the house of a widow, whose son he restores to life. In the third year he returns to Ahab. Great judgment on the prophets of Baal on Mount Carmel. Elijah escapes to Beer-sheba, and thence to Horeb. On his return from Horeb, Elisha, son of Shaphat, joins him as his disciple. War between Ahab and Ben-hadad, king of Syria. Defeat of the latter at Aphek. Ahab makes peace with Ben-hadad. Ahab causes Naboth to be murdered, to get possession of his vineyard in Jezreel. Jehoshaphat allies himself with Ahab, in order to take Ramoth-gilead from the Syrians. The prophet Micaiah, son of Imlah. Ahab is wounded in battle, hurried dying to Samaria, and buried there. Moab seizes itself.

9. Ahaziah (897-895), son of Ahab, and like him follower of Baal, falls out of a high window and dies of his injuries.

10. Jehoram (895-883), brother of Ahaziah, renounces the worship of Baal. Elijah takes leave of Elisha, who is now the acknowledged head of the prophets. Jehoram, allied with Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, and with the king of Edom, goes to war

against Moab. Elisha and the Shunammite woman. Naaman, the captain of the Syrian host, is healed of his leprosy. Elisha's other miracles. Ben-hadad besieges Samaria; the inhabitants suffer grievously from famine, until the Syrian army, seized by a sudden panic, takes to flight. Elisha in Damascus. Hazael murders Ben-hadad and ascends the throne of Syria: he harasses Israel with war. Jehoram is wounded in the battle of Ramoth-gilead, and slain in Jezreel by Jehu, the captain of his host, whom one of the disciples of Elisha had, at the prophet's command, anointed king.

11. Jehu (883-855), son of Nimshi, puts to death Jezebel, the whole house of Ahab, all the priests and prophets of Baal, and completely extirpates the worship of Baal. Hazael conquers the districts east of Jordan.

12. Jehoahaz (855-838), son of Jehu, is, like his father, beset by Hazael and his successor Ben-hadad. The army of Israel numbers only 50 horsemen, 10 chariots, and 10,000 foot soldiers. Towards the end of his reign, the state of things improves a little.

13. Jehoash (838-822), son of Jehoahaz, defeats Amaziah, king of Judah, at Beth-shemesh, enters Jerusalem, the walls of which he partly destroys, and carries away much spoil. Elisha dies, greatly lamented by the king. Jehoash regains a portion of the provinces conquered by the Syrians. The *prophet Jonah*, son of Amittai, of Gath-hepher.

14. Jeroboam II. (822-781), son of Jehoash, conquers Damascus and Hamath, and restores the coast of Israel. He numbers the people in the reconquered provinces east of Jordan. A great earthquake. The prophets Hosea and Amos denounce wantonness and luxury, the worship of Baal, and other idolatrous practices. Amos is compelled to escape to Judah.

(An interregnum of nearly ten years.)

15. Zachariah (722), son of Jeroboam, is murdered, after a reign of six months, by

16. Shallum, son of Jabesh, who, after a month's reign, is in his turn murdered by

17. Menahem (771-761), son of Gadi of Tirzah. He establishes his kingdom by the help of Pul, king of Assyria, who enters the country and lays a heavy tribute on the people. Lawlessness and violence gain the upper hand in the kingdom. The provinces east of Jordan are taken by Judah.

18. Pekahiah (761-759), son of Menahem, is murdered by

19. Pekah (759-739), son of Remaliah, who allies himself with Rezin, king of Syria, and makes war against Judah, which he devastates for many years, without, however, succeeding in taking Jerusalem. The prophet Aded. The king of Judah, Ahaz, calls in the aid of Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, who conquers the provinces east of Jordan, as well as the north part of those west of Jordan, and carries away

the inhabitants captive. Pekah is murdered by Hoshea.

20. Hoshea (720-720), son of Elah, becomes tributary to Shalmaneser, king of Assyria; but as he secretly allies himself with So, king of Egypt, Shalmaneser takes him prisoner, subdues Samaria after a three years' siege, and carries away the inhabitants to the Assyrian and Median provinces.

End of the kingdom of Israel.

In the room of the captive inhabitants, Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, brings settlers from Babylon, Cuthah, and other places, to the land of Israel. At their request he sends them an Israelitish priest, who teaches in Beth-el. Thus they found a religion consisting partly of heathenism and partly of the Israelites' knowledge of God. The Samaritans.

B. The Kingdom of Judah, 987-586.

1. Rehoboam (978-961), son of Solomon, at the instigation of the prophet Shemaiah, desists from attempting to subdue the ten tribes by force of arms. Although he fortifies a number of towns in the southwest of Judah, Shishak, king of Egypt, enters Jerusalem (973) and plunders the treasures of the temple and of the royal palace. Idolatry and corruption in Judea. Hostilities with Jeroboam.

2. Abijam (961-958), son of Rehoboam, idolatrous like his father, dies after an inglorious reign.

3. Asa (958-917), son of Abijam, removes idolatry and replenishes the temple treasure. Zerah, the king

of Ethiopia, enters Judea with an enormous army, and is defeated at Mareshah. The prophet Azariah. The people assemble in Jerusalem and hold a solemn service in the temple. Asa, attacked by Baasha, king of Israel, bribes Ben-hadad, king of Syria, with some of the temple treasures, to come to his aid. After Baasha's retreat, Asa fortifies Geba and Mizpeh and other frontier towns, and increases the standing army. He imprisons the prophet Hanani, who rebukes him for entering into an alliance with Ben-hadad, and oppresses the people, who are dissatisfied with his government.

4. Jehoshaphat (917-892), son of Asa, also faithful to the worship of God, removes what was still left of the idolatrous practices, and allies himself with Ahab in a war against Syria, and with Jehoram in one against Moab. Neither are followed by any special successes. Nor does he succeed in making a passage for his ships to Ophir, the land of gold; the ships, built in Ezion-geber, are wrecked in the Arabian Gulf. He places garrisons in the various fortresses of Judea and in the conquered provinces of Israel. He successfully repels the attacks of the Moabites and Ammonites, and appoints judges and Levites to teach the people.

5. Jehoram (892-884), son of Jehoshaphat, marries the daughter of Ahab, and murders his brothers and other nobles of the kingdom. Edom revolts, and he cannot subdue it again; the neighbouring southwestern states make inroads into the country. His

relationship with Ahab prepares the way for the worship of Baal, which rapidly increases in the kingdom. After an inglorious reign, Jehoram dies of a painful disease.

6. Ahaziah (883), son of Jehoram, takes part in the war carried on by Jehoram, king of Israel, against Hazael, king of Syria. He visits Jehoram, who is wounded, and is slain in Samaria, with forty-two of his brothers, by Jehu.

7. Athaliah (882-876), mother of Ahaziah, usurps the government, and puts to death all the males of the family of Ahaziah. The only one saved is Joash, his infant son, who is secretly brought up by Jehoshabeath, the sister of Ahaziah. After six years, the high priest Jehoiada presents Joash to the soldiers of the guard, and enters into a conspiracy with them, by means of which he succeeds in putting Athaliah to death and proclaiming Joash king.

8. Joash (865-836), son of Ahaziah, ascends the throne at the age of seven. Jehoiada governs in his name. Complete uprooting of the Baal worship. Solemn covenant between the king and his people. Repairs in the temple. Laws for the payment of temple dues and offerings. Joash remains faithful to the worship of God during the life of Jehoiada, but after his death he permits the introduction of various forms of idolatry, and orders Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada, to be stoned in the court of the temple. Hazael, having conquered Gath, threatens to march upon Jerusalem, but Joash induces him to

withdraw by bribes of gifts from the temple treasures. After a reign of forty-one years, Joash is murdered by conspirators. The prophet Joel describes a plague of locusts.

9. Amaziah (836-807), son of Joash, punishes his father's murderers, defeats the Edomites, is defeated by Joash, king of Israel, and compelled to make a disgraceful peace; and is finally slain by conspirators, who followed him to Lachish.

10. Uzziah (807-754), son of Amaziah, energetic and prudent, though only sixteen years of age at his accession to the throne, defeats Edom, conquers Eloth, and rebuilds that important seaport. He subdues the Mehunims, defeats the Philistines, and destroys the walls of Gath, Ashdod, and Jabneh. He strengthens the fortifications of Jerusalem, builds fortresses in different parts of the country, founds halting-places and cisterns in the desert, lays out vineyards, and possesses numerous flocks and herds. The provinces east of Jordan become tributary to him. A great earthquake in Jerusalem. The prophet Amos comes to Judea. Uzziah becomes leprous and has to live apart the last years of his life. He dies, after a reign of fifty-two years. The prophet Isaiah.

11. Jotham (755-739), son of Uzziah (who has already been regent during his father's illness), increases the fortifications of Jerusalem, builds castles and towers, and makes the Ammonites pay tribute. Pekah and Rezin arm themselves against Judea.

12. Ahaz (739-723), son of Jotham, introduces the worship of Moloch and other forms of idolatry. Rezin takes the city of Eloth, and threatens to besiege Jerusalem with the help of Pekah. Ahaz bribes Tilgath-pilneser with rich gifts to bring an army against Rezin. Imitation of the altar which Ahaz has seen in Damascus; other changes in the temple. Prophecies and admonitions of the prophet Isaiah.

13. Hezekiah (723-694), son of Ahaz, destroys all the high places of idolatrous worship, and also the brazen serpent which Moses had made, and which the people had grown to worship, strengthens the walls of Jerusalem, stops the watercourse of Gihon, and brings it down to the west side of the city. Victorious warfare against the Philistines. Sennacherib, king of Assyria, invades Judea, takes several fortified places, and, in spite of rich presents from Hezekiah, sends his commander, Rabshakeh, against Jerusalem. The Assyrian army is destroyed by pestilence, and Sennacherib is murdered by his sons. Hezekiah's sickness. Isaiah's prophetic powers reach their highest development. Embassy of Berodach-baladan, king of Babylon, to Hezekiah. Collection of Solomon's proverbs at this time.

14. Manasseh (694-639), son of Hezekiah, twelve years of age on ascending the throne, bloodthirsty and idolatrous, is long held in captivity by the king of Babylon, and then permitted to return to Jerusalem. His penitence and improvement.

15. Amon (639-638), son of Manasseh, is murdered after a reign of two years.

16. Josiah (638-608), son of Amon. The prophets Jeremiah, Habakkuk, Nahum, Jeremiah, and the prophetess Huldah. After the high-priest Hilkiah's finding the book of the law, Josiah abolishes all forms of idolatrous worship, and destroys every trace of it, as well as the altar in Beth-el. Solemn renewal of the covenant. Celebration of the Passover. Josiah kills at the battle of Megiddo against Pharaoh-nechoh, king of Egypt.

17. Jehoahaz (608), son of Josiah, is deposed by Pharaoh-nechoh, who taxes the land heavily. Pharaoh-nechoh places Jehoiakim, the brother of Jehoahaz, on the throne.

18. Jehoiakim (608-597) is wicked and idolatrous. Execution of the prophet Uriah. The land suffers from the tribute exacted by the king of Egypt, and from the attacks of northern and eastern tribes. Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, makes Judea tributary, after having broken the strength of Egypt. Jehoiakim, after three years, rebels against him.

19. Jehoiachin (597), son of Jehoiakim. Nebuchadnezzar besieges Jerusalem. Jehoiachin submits himself to him, and is carried away captive to Babylon, with one thousand of the principal inhabitants among them, Daniel and his companions, and Ezekiel) in his stead Nebuchadnezzar places on the throne—

20. Zedekiah (597-568), formerly Mattaniah, son of Josiah. Jeremiah's activity reaches its highest

pitch. In spite, however, of his urgent admonitions, Zedekiah listens to flatterers and false prophets, and is persuaded to rebel against Nebuchadnezzar. Commencement of the siege of Jerusalem, in the 10th month, 588. Jeremiah is ill-treated by his fellow-citizens, imprisoned as a traitor, threatened with death, and his writings burned. His scribe Baruch. On the 9th day of the 4th month, 586, Jerusalem is taken; Zedekiah is seized in an attempt to escape, blinded, and taken captive to Babylon. His sons are put to death. On the 7th day of the 5th month, by command of Nebuzaradan, captain of the guard, the temple, the royal palace, and the principal houses, are set on fire, the walls of the city are thrown down, the high-priest Seraiah is slain in Riblah, and the temple utensils are carried away to Babylon. The larger portion of the inhabitants are taken captive to Babylon. Jeremiah is well treated, and permitted to remain in the land. Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam, is made ruler in Mizpeh by Nebuchadnezzar. Many of the dispersed inhabitants, including Jeremiah, begin to collect themselves around him, when he is murdered by Ishmael, the son of Nethaniah. The remaining people escape to Egypt against the advice of Jeremiah, whom they compel to accompany them.

End of the kingdom of Judah. Commencement of the Babylonian Captivity (586).

HISTORY OF THE JEWS.

FIRST PART.

FROM THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY TO THE DESTRUCTION OF THE KINGDOM BY TITUS.

586 B.C.—70 A.C.

FIRST PERIOD.

The Jews under Foreign Rulers, 586-135.

1. The Babylonian Captivity, 586-536.

The folly of the last king of Judah and his advisers had led to the complete dissolution of the kingdom. The greater number of the inhabitants were carried away captive, whole districts in Palestine lay waste and uncultivated, while others were seized upon by neighbouring tribes.

The exiles had portions of land given them to cultivate. In course of time the harsh treatment to which they were at first subjected became milder. The prophets, dwelling amongst them, did not cease to teach and encourage them: Jeremiah in Egypt, Ezekiel by the river Chebar, and several unnamed prophets, whose scattered writings have been incor-

porated with those of the greater prophets (Isaiah and Jeremiah).

After the death of Nebuchadnezzar, Jehoiakim was taken out of the prison in which he had spent thirty-seven years, and treated with kindness and consideration. In 538 Cyrus overthrew the Babylonian empire, and in 536 he gave permission to the Jews to return to their own country.

No trustworthy information has been preserved respecting the inhabitants of the kingdom of Israel, who were also carried into captivity. As the greater number of subsequently known Israelites belonged to the kingdom of Judah, the name of Jews for Israelites has come into use since the Babylonian captivity. The distinctions of the different tribes speedily disappeared, and only the generations of the Levites retained the knowledge of their descent.

2. Zerubbabel and Joshua. The Rebuilding of the Temple, 535-516.

Only a portion of the exiles (about 42,000) made use of the permission to return. At their head were Zerubbabel, a descendant of the royal house, and Joshua, grandson of the high-priest Seraiah. Cyrus ordered the temple utensils that had been carried away by the Babylonians to be handed over to them; and their fellow-exiles, who remained behind, assisted them with money, cattle, and offerings for the temple. In the seventh month they again offered sacrifices on a newly erected altar, and celebrated the feast of tabernacles; in the second year they laid the founda-

tion of the temple. But the Samaritans, whose proffered assistance in building the temple had been refused, calumniated the Jews in the hearing of Cyrus and his successors, so that the continuation of the building was prohibited.

In all probability the Persian army under Cambyzes (527) passed through Palestine when invading Egypt; in this case the land, already impoverished by bad harvests and hailstorms, no doubt suffered considerably.

It was not until the reign of Darius Hystaspes (522-486), that the Jews, encouraged by the prophets Haggai and Zachariah, resumed the building of the temple, which Darius not only permitted, but assisted. On the 3rd day of the month of Adar, 516 (seventy years after the destruction of the first temple), the second temple was finished and consecrated with a solemn ceremony.

3. The Feast of Purim, 473. Ezra and Nehemiah, 458-430.

Nothing is known of the state of Palestine during the first half century after the rebuilding of the temple. In all probability it was not very satisfactory. Perhaps Palestine also suffered during Xerxes's campaign against Egypt (484).

Xerxes I. (485-465) is probably the king Ahasuerus of whom we read in the book of Esther. The great festival, spoken of at the commencement of the book of Esther, must then have taken place in 483 (after the conquest of Egypt), the selection of Esther to be

queen in 479 (after the king's return from Greece), the fall of Haman and the elevation of Mordecai in 474, and the institution of Purim in 473.

In the year 458 Ezra (descended from the priestly race) led a colony of Jews from Babylon to Palestine, where they arrived on the 1st day of Ab. The humane king of Persia, Artaxerxes I., had assisted them in various ways, and had moreover endowed Ezra with several privileges—amongst others the right of appointing judges according to his own will and pleasure. Ezra set to work vigorously to improve the condition of the young congregation, and was especially active in opposing the marriages with heathen women, which at that time were very frequent. In an assembly on the 20th of Kislev he succeeded in carrying the resolution that all marriages with such women should be dissolved, and that no new ones should be contracted. His beneficial activity in spreading the knowledge of the Mosaic law gained for him the name of Sopher, or "the scribe," and the foundation of the newly-restored congregation is rightly attributed to him.

Nehemiah, the son of Hachaliah, the cup-bearer of Artaxerxes I., demanded—and received—from the king leave of absence for a certain time, in order to go to Jerusalem. He was appointed governor of Palestine, and his services, while holding office, have won for him lasting approval. He came to Jerusalem in 444, and in spite of the opposition of the Samaritans (Sanballat and others), he succeeded in

rebuilding the walls of the city, and fortifying the temple mount, and the governor's house. He also arranged that every tenth man from the surrounding country should come and settle in Jerusalem, and prevailed upon the rich to give back the lands and houses which the poorer inhabitants had mortgaged to them. He returned to Persia in 433, but visited Jerusalem again at a later period. On this occasion he impressed upon the inhabitants the importance of keeping the Sabbath and avoiding marriages with heathen women, and arranged what dues were to be paid to the priests and Levites, and when the book of the law was to be read to the people. Malachi, the last of the prophets, was a contemporary of Ezra and Nehemiah.

To Ezra is ascribed the transcribing of the Pentateuch from the old Hebrew (Samaritan) characters to those in use at the present day, and also various other institutions; and to Nehemiah the foundation of a temple library.

The separation between the Jews and the Samaritans was rendered final and absolute by the building of the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim, in imitation of the one at Jerusalem. It was built by Manasseh, son of Jehoiada, the high-priest, and son-in-law of Sanballat.

4. The High-priests.

We have no authentic details of the rest of the period, during which Palestine was under the Persian rule. The re-established state, which was of about the same extent as the former kingdom, formed a part of the province of Syria, and was under the immediate rule of successive high-priests. These

were in succession from father to son: Joshua, 536; Jehoiakim, 499; Eliashib, 453; Jehoiada, 410; Jochanan, 383; Jaddua, 350.

The at first scanty population of Judea was increased in the course of years by fresh arrivals of returned exiles; besides which numerous Jewish communities were to be found in Egypt, in Asia Minor, etc.

The tendency to idolatrous practices had disappeared, all foreign elements were eliminated, and great care and attention were given to the development of religious institutions, to exploring and explaining traditional and transmitted precepts, to studying and publicly reading the Pentateuch, and to collecting ancient Hebrew writings. This activity is generally ascribed to the "Men of the Great Assembly" (Anshe-Keneset Ha Gedola), the origin of which is traced back to the time of Ezra.

The Hebrew language gradually assumed an Aramaic colour, but was still the universal language of the people.

Commencement of the Midrash. The Sopherim (scribes). Ordinances for the synagogues and the ritual date from this period.

5. Alexander the Great, 332. Ptolemy Lagus, 320.

The dissolution of the Persian empire by Alexander the Great made no marked changes in the religious and political condition of the Jews. The fall of Tyre in 332 decided the fate of the whole coast. The truth of the story of Alexander the Great's march

against Jerusalem, and his peaceful interview with the high-priest, is rightly considered to be extremely doubtful.

After the death of Alexander, Palestine became an apple of discord between Syria and Egypt, during the long wars amongst his commanders, who all desired to succeed him. Ptolemy I., king of Egypt, entered Jerusalem in 320, and carried away a large number of the inhabitants to Egypt, where some were sold as slaves, and some entered the army.

After the battle of Gaza (312), Ptolemy again visited Palestine; many Jews voluntarily followed him on his return to his native land. High-priest, Onias I., 330; his son, Simon I., 310.

Commencement of the Seleucidan Era (Minjar Shtarot, *æra contractuum*), which remained in use among the Jews for several centuries.

The Seleucidan Era is reduced to the one reckoning from the Creation by adding 3448, and to the Christian Era by subtracting 312; if the Seleucidan Era exceeds 312, that number should be subtracted from it.

6. Ptolemy Philadelphus, 283-246. The Septuagint.

The mild rule which the Jews had enjoyed under Ptolemy I. was continued by his successor, Ptolemy Philadelphus. The high-priest, Simon I., was succeeded by his brother Eleazar (291), then came his uncle, Manasseh (276), and on the death of the latter, Onias II. (250), the son of Simon I. The Greek translation of the Scriptures, commonly called

the Septuagint (LXX.) is supposed to have been made during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus; the numerous Jews living in Egypt, and lacking a sufficient knowledge of Hebrew, no doubt felt the necessity of a translation for the purpose of reading the law and the prophets in the synagogues.

The history of the origin of the Septuagint has been variously amplified. Its chief source is the so-called letter of Aristeus; this narrative was probably written at no earlier date than that of the last century before the destruction of the temple. It relates how Ptolemy Philadelphus sent an embassy to the high-priest Eleazar to ask for seventy-two learned scribes (six out of every tribe), and how these scribes at his command translated the Scriptures, and how, moreover, though each did his work separately, their versions were nevertheless word for word the same. It may have been that Ptolemy Philadelphus merely received a copy of the Hebrew Pentateuch into his library. The various portions of the Scriptures have been translated at different times and by different writers. The Septuagint version contains a vast number of deviations from our text, and also suffered many subsequent corruptions.

7. Ptolemy Evergetes (246-221) and Philopator (221-201). Simon the Just (219).

The high-priest Onias II. would have drawn down upon himself the anger of Ptolemy III. Evergetes, by withholding the tax of twenty talents due to him, had not his nephew Joseph, the son of Tobias, skilfully managed to pacify the offended king. For two and twenty years Joseph subsequently farmed the taxes of the whole of Palestine and occupied an important position. Evergetes is said to have brought offerings to the temple in Jerusalem after a successful campaign.

The fourth Ptolemy, Philopator, also came to Jerusalem during a war with Antiochus, king of Syria, and sacrificed there; it is said that on his attempting to enter the Holy of Holies, he was seized with a sudden faintness and compelled to relinquish his intention. On his return to Egypt he determined to revenge himself on his Jewish subjects, and had elephants driven among them to trample them to death—the animals, however, turned against their drivers, and the Jews were saved. Antiochus, nevertheless, succeeded in conquering Palestine.

The son of Onias II., Simon II., is surnamed the Just; he is mentioned as one of the last surviving members of the great assembly, and the history of his life has been adorned by many legends of a later date. He beautified and fortified the temple, and rebuilt the walls that had been destroyed by Ptolemy I.

The latest written books of the Scriptures are: certain Psalms, Ecclesiastes, Jonah, Esther, Chronicles. The gradual disappearance of Hebrew, as the universal language of the people, in favour of the Aramaic tongue may be dated from this period. The apocryphal book of Baruch, with Jeremiah's letter to the captives in Babylon, was probably written at this time. About the year 190 Jesus, the son of Sirach, wrote in Hebrew a book of proverbs, parables, and wise sayings, which was translated into Greek sixty years later by his grandson, also named Jesus; the original Hebrew version has been lost.

The narrative of Philopator's cruel project against the Jews, the truth of which is not indeed historically established, is to be found in the so-called third book of the Maccabees.

Simon the Just is also mentioned as the first of the Tannim (teachers of the Mishnah). Jesus, son of Sirach, recounts his various merits at the end of his book.

8. The Syrian Rulers. Antiochus the Great. Seleucus IV.

Antiochus III. (224-187), surnamed the Great, showed himself mild and beneficent towards the Jews; the above-mentioned buildings were carried on with his sanction. The high-priest at that time was Onias III., a God-fearing and universally respected man.

Seleucus IV. (187-175), son and successor of Antiochus,—like his father, of a peaceful disposition, but compelled to pay to the Romans the tribute they had imposed on the latter,—endeavoured, through Apollonius, governor of Celosyria, to despoil the temple of its treasure; a Jew named Simon, who had quarrelled with Onias III., called the attention of Apollonius to the riches stored therein, but the attempt failed, owing—according to the legend—to a celestial apparition, which prevented the robbery.

The legend is found in the third chapter of the second book of the Maccabees.

9. Antiochus Epiphanes, 175-163.

The peaceful development of Judaism was meanwhile seriously endangered by the increase of Greek culture, which had become more and more powerful in Asia ever since the reign of Alexander the Great. Whereas in Egypt it harmonised easily with the prevailing tendencies of the nation, its adherents in Palestine found themselves confronted by firmly-established and widely different institutions. As they were not able to break through them, they called in the assistance of the Syrian rulers, and

thus caused a long and terrible war, which ended in the victory of Judaism over Paganism.

When Seleucus was succeeded by his brother Antiochus Epiphanes, who till then had been a hostage in Rome, the high-priesthood was secured by Joshua, brother of Onias III. He changed his name to Jason, and made use of his position to introduce Greek customs into Jerusalem. Antiochus, passing through the city on his campaign against Egypt, was magnificently received. It was on this occasion that the high-priesthood passed into the hands of Menelaus, brother of Simon (mentioned in § 8), who offered a larger sum for it than Jason had done. In order, however, to obtain this sum, Menelaus robbed the temple treasure and put to death Onias (§ 8), who reproached him for the crime. This caused a riot among the already excited people, in which Lysimachus, the brother of Menelaus, was killed.

10. Tyranny of Antiochus Epiphanes, 169.

On a false report of Antiochus having died in Egypt, Jason returned and drove away Menelaus. Soon, however, he was again compelled to seek safety in flight. Antiochus entered Jerusalem (169), put to death many of the inhabitants, and plundered the temple. He gave the command to Philippus. Enraged by the increasing disquiet in Jerusalem, and by the insinuations of the Greek party, he resolved to utterly annihilate the Jewish religion. His commander Apollonius attacked the town on a Sabbath, and put to death some thousands of the people; the

city of David (i.e. the lower part of the town) then fortified and manned by a Syrian garrison. Sacrifices were prohibited by the king's command. A high priest in the king's service in the temple was appointed for Zeus, altars for other Grecian gods were erected in various towns. The celebration of the Sabbath, holidays, the observation of the laws concerning bidden food, and many other important commandments, were forbidden to be observed on pain of death, and the Scriptures were burned and destroyed. On the 25th day of Kislev 167, sacrifices were offered for the first time on the heathen altar in the temple. Many Jews fled to the neighbouring nations; many died the martyr's death; those who adopted heathen customs were rewarded with gifts and honours.

Martyrdom of the aged Eleazar and the mother and sons, known as the "Martyr-mother," described in the second book of the Maccabees, also in what is called the fourth book of the Maccabees (which has been incorrectly ascribed to Josephus and elsewhere).

11. Mattathias and his Sons, 167.

In Modin, a small town near Jerusalem, then lived a priest named Mattathias, of the family of the Asmoneans. When he, being a man of superior position, was appointed by the Syrian commander to offer sacrifices on the heathen altar, he indignantly refused to obey. Filled with pious zeal he slew a Jew, who had stepped forward to perform the sacrifice, overthrew the altar, called on those

thought as he did to follow him, and fled from the town accompanied by his five sons, Joannan called Caddis, Simon called Thassi, Judas called Maccabeus, Eleazar called Avaran, and Jonathan called Apphus. They wandered through the country, raising the standard of rebellion, and were soon joined by many who, like themselves, had remained true to their faith. After having determined to defend themselves even on the Sabbath, should they be attacked on that day, they defeated the Syrians who pursued them, destroyed many of the heathen altars, and re-established the authority of the law. Mattathias died 166, after having given the chief command to his heroic son Judas ; his son Simon he appointed as the one to whom his brothers were to apply for advice in time of need.

12. Judas Maccabeus, 166-160.

Judas showed himself worthy of the confidence his father had placed in him. He defeated the hostile leader Apollonius (who fell in the battle), and soon after Seron, who had the command in Syria, at Beth-horon. Antiochus, who at that time (165) had to undertake a campaign against the north-east parts of his kingdom, gave Lysias the command against the Jews, with instructions to destroy the whole nation, and make Jerusalem level with the ground. Lysias sent 40,000 infantry and 7000 cavalry, under the command of Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias, to subdue the Jews. Although fear deprived him of many of his followers, Judas attacked Nicanor's

division at Emmaus with a force of 6000 men completely defeated him; the same fate befell G who had separated himself from Nicanor in or attack the Jews in the rear. Laden with Judas returned to Judea, held a service of giving, distributed portions of the booty among widows and orphans, and laid in a stock of arms for his followers.

13. The Feast of Dedication (Hanucah)

In the year 164, Lysias himself, with 6000 infantry, and 5,000 cavalry, advanced into Judea and came as far as Bethsura, south of Jerusalem. Here Judas attacked him with 10,000 men and compelled him to take to flight, and to retreat to Antioch. In the autumn of the same year Judas entered Jerusalem, and though the fortress was garrisoned by the Syrians, he at once proceeded to restore the temple, removed everything that bore traces of heathen worship, and erected a new altar of unhewn stone. Then the sanctuary was solemnly consecrated and illuminated on the 25th of the month of 164, sacrifices were again offered according to the law, and an eight days' festival (called the Feast of Dedication, Hanucah), to commence on the 25th of Kislev, was appointed to be held annually.

14. Subsequent History of Judas Maccabeus, 163.

Judas erected strong walls to protect Mount Zion against the attacks of the Syrian garrison in the city, and for further safety proceeded to fortify

surra ; he and his brothers Simon and Jonathan also gave frequent aid to those of their compatriots who were settled among the neighbouring peoples, and exposed to oppressions of various kinds. Many of them were transferred to Judea ; Hebron was reconquered, and the powerful coast-town Ashdod humbled.

After the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (163), Judas had a brief time of peace, in consequence of the disputes which arose concerning the guardianship of the young son of the former, Antiochus Eupator ; and he employed that time (162) in besieging the fortress. The garrison applied for help to the king of Syria, who accordingly entered Judea with an army, led by Lysias, consisting of 100,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry, and 32 well-trained war elephants. Judas was compelled to raise the siege, and in spite of the heroism of the Jews they were unable to prevent the Syrians taking Bethsura, and besieging Mount Zion. Judas' brother Eleazar fell in the course of this campaign. Fortunately for Judas, threatened disturbances in Syria made Lysias inclined for peace, and terms were offered, which the former accepted. Mount Zion surrendered on condition of the Jews receiving permission for the free exercise of their religion ; and Antiochus left Jerusalem, not without having broken part of his agreement by pulling down the walls which surrounded the temple-mount.

15. Alcimus, 161.

When Antiochus Eupator and Lysias had been put to death in 161 by Demetrius, son of Seleucus

Philopator, Alcimus, who had previously been appointed high-priest, but was hated by the Jews on account of his idolatrous practices, applied to him for an army for his support. Troops were accordingly sent to him, under command of Bacchides; Judas fled from Jerusalem, and sixty learned scribes, who trusted the hypocritical assurances of Alcimus, were shamefully murdered. Bacchides, however, could not long contend against Judas, and was compelled to return to Syria.

In the following year Demetrius sent Nicanor to Jerusalem. He at first was apparently anxious to remain on good terms with Judas; but news of this having been brought to Demetrius by Alcimus, he showed himself suddenly hostile, and war recommenced. Nicanor was completely defeated at Beth-horon, the greater part of his army was destroyed, and he himself was slain. The 13th day of Adar was long afterwards celebrated by the Jews as the "Day of Nicanor."

The treacherously murdered scribes are said to have included *Josa ben Jozer*, of Zeroda, whose mother was the sister of Alcimus. *Josa ben Jozer* is mentioned with *Joseph ben Jochanan* of Jerusalem as having been disciples of Antigonus of Socho.

16. Judas' Death. Jonathan, 160-142.

Judas sent an embassy to Rome, in hopes of gaining help from that powerful state; but though his envoys were kindly received, and an alliance concluded, it led to no further result.

On hearing of Nicanor's defeat, Demetrius commanded Bacchides and his army to return to Judea; in 160 he stood before Jerusalem. Judas unhesitatingly attacked him with a far smaller force, and in spite of most heroic efforts the Jews were defeated. Judas himself fell on the battlefield; his body, however, remained in the hands of his followers, and was buried in the sepulchre of his fathers in Modin.

The partisans of Syria already believed their cause was victorious, as Jerusalem and all the fortified towns were in the hands of the Syrians, when Judas' brother Jonathan placed himself at the head of the national party. His strategic powers, as well as his valour, enabled him to resist the great numerical superiority of his foes. His brother Joannan lost his life in an attack made by a small hostile tribe, but his death was followed by the defeat of his assailants.

After the sudden death of Alcimus (159), Bacchides returned to Syria, and the land had two years' rest. In 157 he returned at the request of the Syrian party; but Jonathan and Simon opposed him so vigorously that he preferred to make peace with them. Jerusalem remained in the hands of the Syrians, but Jonathan was suffered to dwell unmolested at Machmas.

17. Jonathan becomes High-priest, 152. His Death, 142.

In 152 contentions for the throne of Syria broke out between Demetrius and Alexander Balas (a pre-

tended son of Antiochus Epiphanes), and both parties applied to Jonathan for aid. Jonathan took part of Alexander, entered Jerusalem, for Mount Zion, and assumed the robes of the priest. He continued faithful to Alexander after Demetrius' death, when his son Demetrius conquered Ptolemais, and seized the rest of the sea-coast. Jonathan and Simon defeated the commander Apollonius, and took all the fortresses, except the fortress in Jerusalem.

After the death of Alexander Balas, Jonathan succeeded in obtaining the favour of Demetrius, and his assistance with 3000 men, and saved his throne and life in a revolt in Antioch. Demetrius nevertheless failed to keep his promise of delivering the fortress in Jerusalem. Jonathan consequently took the part of Tryphon (who proclaimed the young son of Alexander Balas as king, under the name Antiochus Theos), and subdued for him the whole country on both sides of the Jordan. But his services were rewarded by the basest ingratitude when Tryphon found that he no longer required support of the Jewish hero, he lured him into Ptolemais, and murdered him.

18. Simon as High-priest and Prince, 135.

Tryphon's intention of possessing himself of Jerusalem was defeated by Simon's resolution and courage. He, the last remaining brother of the five Maccabees, at once garrisoned the most impor-

towns, repulsed the attacks of Tryphon, and at last compelled the Syrian garrison to surrender the fortress in Jerusalem, into which he made a solemn entry on the 23d day of the second month. Simon then renewed the alliance with the Romans, and made peace with Demetrius. Without concerning himself about the warfare between Demetrius and Tryphon, he turned his attention to the affairs of his country, kept the fortresses and army in good condition, restored some degree of peace and safety, protected agriculture, and promoted commerce by making Joppa a harbour. The grateful people, in a solemn assembly held on 18th of Elul 140, proclaimed him hereditary high-priest and prince. His son Joannan distinguished himself in early youth by his military achievements, and successfully repulsed the attack of Demetrius' brother, Antiochus Sidetes.

But Simon, like his four brothers, was not destined to die a natural death. Ptolemy, his son-in-law, treacherously murdered him in the fortress of Docus, near Jericho (135), and had already sent messengers to prepare the same fate for Joannan. He, however, being fortunately warned in time, succeeded in reaching Jerusalem, where he was immediately acknowledged as Simon's successor.

Simon, it may be mentioned, had received the right of coinage from the Syrians, and made use of that permission, as is proved by many coins which are still preserved.

19. The Jews in Egypt.

The storms which had so severely tried the Jews

in Palestine left their co-religionists in Egypt almost untouched. Here the tendency to Grecian habits and customs met with no such obstacles as in the original home of Judaism. The Egyptian Jews, especially the very numerous community in Alexandria, not only took an active part in trades and commerce, but had also engaged in Greek science, and held a by no means ignoble position among the Greek writers of their time. The translation of the Bible into Greek had spread a knowledge of its contents into non-Jewish circles. The necessity of explaining misunderstandings and removing false conceptions gave rise to a number of works which treated Scripture history according to the ideas of the times, or put biblical views and opinions into the mouths of ancient Greek authorities (Orpheus, the Sybils). Besides their commercial and literary undertakings, the Jews also made themselves useful to the Egyptian rulers as courageous and trustworthy soldiers.

20. The Temple built by Onias, 160.

The son of the high-priest Onias III., also called Onias, had fled to Egypt during the Syrian tyranny, entered the army of the Egyptian king, and rendered him important services. In return for these he received permission from King Philometer (160) to build a temple in the neighbourhood of Heliopolis (On in the Bible), north-east of Memphis. The building resembled the one in Jerusalem less in its outer than in its inner arrangements; priests

and Levites also officiated in it. The revenues granted to Onias by the king were devoted to defraying the expenses of the temple, which soon attracted numerous settlers. It remained in existence three years later than the one in Jerusalem, but does not seem to have been thought of much importance. The sons of Onias, Hilkiah and Hanaiah, subsequently distinguished themselves as valourous soldiers.

SECOND PERIOD.

The Jews under their own Rulers, 135.

A. The Asmoneans.

21. John Hyrcanus, 135-106.

Hyrcanus had at first to contend against numerous difficulties. Antiochus Sidetes ravaged the land, threatened Jerusalem itself, and compelled the Jews to pay a heavy tribute, as well as to remove the battlements on the walls of Jerusalem (133).

After the death of Antiochus civil war again broke out in Syria, and Hyrcanus was consequently left more free to act for himself. He subdued the provinces east of Jordan, and destroyed the town of Sichen and the so-called Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim (120). He completely conquered the Idumeans, and compelled them to adopt Judaism, in which *their identity was henceforward lost*. He *also regained Jeser and Joppa, of which the much-*

frequented harbour was a source of considerable profit. The Romans subsequently confirmed his conquests, which increased his kingdom almost to the dimensions to which it had extended during the reigns of David and Solomon. During another war with the Samaritans, their capital Samaria was taken after a year's siege and completely destroyed.

22. Pharisees and Sadducees.

The prosperity which the country enjoyed under the rule of Hyrcanus was disturbed towards the end of his reign by opposing factions, whose actual commencement may be traced back to earlier times, but who only then assumed any distinctive features. Of these factions (incorrectly called sects) the best known are the Pharisees and the Sadducees. The former, probably originating among the Sopherim, occupied themselves with the propagation and study of the law, and were chiefly intent on observing its manifold precepts : they indeed may be said to have planted the afterwards far-spreading tree of Talmudism and Rabbinism. The Sadducees, who belonged to the aristocratic circles, rebelled against strict obedience to the letter of the law, and against the absolute exclusion of everything non-Jewish. These originally religious motives were, however, after a time driven into the background by political ones. The Essenees, another faction, formed communities, which met, after the fashion of religious orders, for the observance of certain rules, such as community of goods, simplicity of food, partial avoidance of marriage, etc.

23. Hyrcanus' Quarrel with the Pharisees. His Death, 106.

At a great banquet, given by Hyrcanus, a Pharisee scribe observed to him that he ought to content himself with the royal crown and give up the high priesthood, as his mother had been a prisoner in Modin in the hands of the Syrians. Offended by this statement, especially as on investigation it was found to be untrue, the king, who had until then adhered to the Pharisees, attached himself to the Sadducees, who now filled the most important offices of the state. The people, who mostly supported the Pharisees, became greatly dissatisfied. John Hyrcanus died after a prosperous reign of thirty years (106), and left five sons—Judas Aristobulus, Antigonus, Alexander, Absalom—the name of the fifth is unknown. He appointed his wife to succeed him on the throne, and his eldest son in the sacerdotal office.

24. Judas Aristobulus, 106-105. Alexander Jannæus, 105-79.

Aristobulus immediately dispossessed his mother of the throne, and threw her and three of his brothers into prison, where she is said to have died of hunger. He then assumed the title of king. His brother Antigonus, who accompanied him on a successful campaign against one of the north-eastern tribes, was put to death by his orders on an unfounded suspicion. He did not, however, long survive him, but died in the second year of his reign, 105.

Alexander Jannæus, who now came to the throne, was of a luxurious, cruel, and warlike temperament; he attached himself to the Sadducees, and endeavoured to widen the borders of his kingdom. Though he suffered many losses by Ptolemy Lathurus' invasion of Palestine, he succeeded in taking the flourishing town of Gadara, the important seaport of Gaza, and others. Nevertheless he was hated by the people, and when the latter gave expression to this feeling by pelting him with citrons when he was officiating as high-priest on the occasion of the Feast of Tabernacles, he caused nearly 6000 of them to be cut to pieces. When a campaign against the Arabs, which had at first been victorious, threatened to end in defeat, a rebellion broke out in Jerusalem, which became an actual civil war, and lasted nearly six years. By terrible cruelties he was at last enabled to restore civil peace, and by successful wars to increase the extent of his kingdom. On his return from his victorious campaigns he was honourably received, but died, after a three years' illness, not yet fifty years of age. Contrary to his own inclinations, he advised his wife Salome Alexandra to trust herself and her children to the Pharisees rather than to the Sadducees.

25. Salome, 79-70. Hyrcanus and Aristobulus.

After the death of Alexander, his widow Salome Alexandra took the government of the kingdom into her own hands, and ruled for nine years prosperously

and wisely. She appointed her eldest son Hyrcanus, a weak, indolent man, to the office of high-priest; her youngest son Aristobulus, an active ambitious youth, she kept as far as possible from the throne, and sought for help and advice from the Pharisees. But the now degraded and persecuted Sadducees attached themselves to Aristobulus, and he succeeded in collecting an army and possessing himself of several fortified places. At this time the queen fell ill and died, and war broke out between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. The former was defeated at Jericho, and made peace with Aristobulus; the younger brother was to ascend the throne, the elder to live quietly and unmolested in Jerusalem.

26. Antipater the Idumean. Pompey in Jerusalem, 63.

While the naturally indolent Hyrcanus remained well satisfied with this arrangement, Antipater the Idumean, an active, ambitious, and crafty man, was, on the other hand, disappointed in the hopes with which his friendship with Hyrcanus had inspired him. He did not cease working on the weak mind of Hyrcanus, until the latter consented to fly from Jerusalem to Aretas, the Arabian ruler, and to gain his help against Aristobulus in return for certain territorial concessions. Aretas agreed to his terms, defeated Aristobulus, and besieged Jerusalem, which, however, obstinately held out, although the people, led by the Pharisees, were in the main opposed to Aristobulus.

About this time (64) Pompey was making war against Mithridates and Tigranes ; envoys from the two Jewish combatants were sent to his general Scaurus, at Damascus. He first decided in favour of Aristobulus, who afterwards succeeded in defeating Aretas. When, however, Pompey himself came to Damascus, there appeared before him, besides the envoys of the two brothers, a deputation from the people, who desired the abolishment of the monarchy. Pompey postponed his decision, and called for witnesses for the two parties. But as Aristobulus left Damascus without awaiting the decision, Pompey advanced to Jerusalem, and, after three months' heroic resistance, took possession of the city (63). He insisted on entering the Holy of Holies in the temple, but left the treasure untouched. He punished the rebels, made Hyrcanus high-priest and prince (Ethnarch) without the title of king, destroyed the walls of Jerusalem, and reduced Judea to the dimensions it had occupied before the time of the Maccabees. Antipater carried on the government instead of the incapable Hyrcanus.

27. Warfare in Judea.

Aristobulus and his two sons, Alexander and Antigonus, were taken prisoners to Rome. Alexander escaped on the way, hurried back to Judea and collected an army, but he was defeated, driven to seek refuge in the fortress of Alexandrion, and finally compelled to submit. In order to lessen the influence of the capital on the rest of the country

the Romans divided Judea into five districts, each of which had its own jurisdiction—(1) Jerusalem, (2) Jericho for the midland, (3) Sepphoris for the northern provinces, (4) Amathus for the southern, and (5) Gadara for the northern Peræa (east of Jordan). Hyrcanus retained the office of high-priest.

Aristobulus and his son Antigonus also escaped from Rome, and collected their adherents; but in spite of energetic resistance they were compelled to fly to Peræa, and were at last taken captive and brought back to Rome.

When Gabinius, who was hated for his extortions, marched against Egypt in 56, a revolt again broke out under the leadership of Alexander, and many Romans who had fled to Mount Gerizim were put to death there. Gabinius returned from Egypt and defeated the insurgents at Mount Tabor. Here Antipater again had the opportunity of effectually serving the Romans.

When the triumvirate—Crassus, Cæsar, and Pompey—divided the Roman provinces, the former received that of Syria, in which Judea was included. He came to Jerusalem and robbed the temple of immense treasures, but was afterwards completely defeated by the Parthians. The insurgents considered this a propitious moment. They collected an army under the leadership of Pitholaos, but were defeated by Cassius at the lake of Tiberias, and a great number of them were sold as slaves (52).

28. Julius Cæsar.

A ray of hope once more dawned for Aristobulus when enmity broke out between Pompey and Cæsar, and he received from the latter two legions to subdue Syria and Judea. But Aristobulus died,—some said he was poisoned,—and his son Alexander was beheaded by command of Pompey.

After Cæsar's triumph was secured, Antipater, who till then had been an ally of Pompey, succeeded easily in gaining the favour of Cæsar. When Cæsar found himself in Egypt in a dangerous position, without a sufficient force, he (Antipater) provided the troops with which Mithridates was coming to his assistance with all they required, and hurried thither himself with an army of 3000 picked men. Antigonus, the youngest son of Aristobulus, in vain petitioned Cæsar for an interview; Hyrcanus was confirmed in the high-priesthood, and Antipater was rewarded with the Roman citizenship, freedom for all his family from imposts, and the command of the whole of Judea. Besides this, Cæsar showed his gratitude and goodwill to the Jews of Palestine and Alexandria in various ways (such as permitting the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem), so that their grief for his murder was sincere and well founded.

29. Herod, son of Antipater.

Antipater now ruled with almost kingly power. He made his eldest son, Phasael, governor of Jerusalem and its neighbourhood, and appointed Herod, his second son, to the command over Galilee. The

latter earned the gratitude of the Romans by overcoming various predatory bands, who at that time infested Galilee. On the other hand, he, in doing this, infringed the rights of the Sanhedrim in Jerusalem, by sentencing the captives to death on his own responsibility. Hyrcanus was reluctantly compelled to summon him before the Sanhedrim; and he appeared indeed, but not as an accused, clothed in purple and attended by armed followers. The judges lost courage at sight of him, and only the aged Shemaiah preserved the dignity of the supreme court. Hyrcanus, fearing bloodshed, dissolved the assembly; and Herod withdrew to Damascus, where he was well received by the Roman governor, Sextus Cæsar.

After the murder of Cæsar (44), Cassius imposed a heavy tribute on Judea; and Herod's merciless extortion of it raised him still higher in favour with the Romans, though it drew upon him the hatred of his countrymen. The anti-Roman party did not remain inactive. Antipater was poisoned by one Malich; Herod lured the murderer to Tyre, and there had him executed by Cassius' soldiers. The revolt which broke out after the departure of Cassius was easily quelled by Phasaël and Herod. Herod then betrothed himself to Mariamne, the granddaughter of Aristobulus, and daughter of Alexander.

30. Downfall of the Asmonean Rulers.

Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, was, however, still alive, and was destined once more to endanger

Herod's ambitious undertakings. After the battle of Philippi, Mark Antony came to Palestine, but he sided so entirely with Herod and Phasael that he caused numbers of their opponents, who brought complaints against them, to be put to death. After his departure, however, the Parthians invaded Syria (40), and Antigonus bribed them with a promise of 1000 talents and 500 slaves to assist him. They succeeded in entering Jerusalem, and got possession of Hyrcanus and Phasael; the latter killed himself in prison, the former had his ears cut off by Antigonus' order (so as to make him incapable of holding the high-priesthood), and was then carried captive to Parthia. While Antigonus thus rose to power, Herod and his followers withdrew, not without danger, to the fortress Massada, south of the Dead Sea. Thence he hurried to the Arabian chief Malchus, who, however, refused to assist him, and thence to Rome, where he speedily succeeded in being proclaimed king of Judea, while Antigonus was declared an enemy of the Romans. In the year 39 he returned to Palestine with a large army, but it took him nearly three years' hard fighting before he finally mastered his opponent. The war was carried on with the utmost bitterness and cruelty. In the summer of the year 37 the siege of Jerusalem commenced. The besieged defended themselves heroically, but the fact of the sabbatical year being at hand made it difficult for the besiegers to obtain provisions. At last both the city and the temple fell into the

hands of the besiegers—on the same day as they had been taken by Pompey twenty-six years before. Antigonus, who had surrendered himself to the Roman general, was executed at Herod's request. The latter also avenged himself on several learned men (who had been among his adversaries), by having them put to death. The only remaining male members of the Asmonean family were now the aged Hyrcanus and the young Aristobulus, whose sister, Mariamne, Herod had married during the war.

B. The Herodians.

31. Herod I., King of Judea, 37-4 B.C.

Bloodshed and violence had been the means by which Herod had reached the throne; he was now compelled to maintain himself on it in the same way. In spite of his remarkable ability, his intelligence and energy, his increasing activity for the benefit of the country, and even of the people's great wish for rest and quiet, he was unable to remain at peace either with his subjects or with his own family. He believed himself compelled to show the greatest tyranny towards those he most loved, and was obliged to be constantly on the alert to maintain the favour of the Romans. During a reign of thirty-four years he did not succeed in giving any stability to his dynasty. He could not make the people forget his non-Jewish descent, although he destroyed the genealogical records; and in consequence of this the existence of the young Aristobulus was a constant source of un-

easiness to him. He had appointed a certain Ananel to the high-priesthood ; but in compliance, partly with the urgent entreaties of his mother-in-law Alexandra, and partly with the wish of Antony, he deposed him, and put Aristobulus in his place. But before the latter had long enjoyed his new dignity he was treacherously murdered by Herod's command. Antony summoned Herod to Rome to answer for the murder, but he succeeded in justifying himself before his Roman judges. He believed, however, that Alexandra and his wife Mariamne regarded him with suspicion, and in this belief he was confirmed by his sister Salome.

When the power of Antony was overthrown at the battle of Actium (31), Herod feared his own fall might be near : this fear was sufficient for him to order the execution of Hyrcanus. He then temporarily placed the government in the hands of his brother Pheroras, while he hastened to present himself to Octavian, whose favour he speedily obtained. On his return, the intrigues of Salome again aroused his suspicions of Mariamne ; he began to doubt her fidelity, and at last ordered her execution—an act of cruelty which was no sooner carried out than repented. Herod fell into a state of the deepest remorse and melancholy, from which he only roused himself to put to death some of the most eminent men in the kingdom. His mother-in-law Alexandra, the sons of Baba, and his faithful servant Costobar, also fell victims to his rage.

32. Herod's Restoration of the Temple.

The introduction of public games and fights of wild beasts in Jerusalem, and also the erection of a theatre, increased the hatred which Herod's subjects already felt for him ; all these heathen customs were detestable in their eyes. A conspiracy against him was discovered, and gave rise to tortures and executions, as well as to fortifying Jerusalem and other places in the kingdom, especially Cæsarea, which soon became one of the most important towns in Judea.

A succession of misfortunes (24)—drought, famine, and pestilence—gave Herod the opportunity of earning his subjects' gratitude by his energetic activity and generosity to the sufferers. But he especially endeavoured to make himself popular by a magnificent restoration of the temple, in the course of which he followed minutely the ordinances of the scribes and priests. The rebuilding lasted a year and a half, and its completion was celebrated with great solemnity ; eight years were required to complete the surrounding halls and courts, and no expense was spared to make the whole one of the most splendid buildings of the time. Not less magnificent was the palace which Herod built for himself ; he also erected marble monuments on the graves of David and Solomon.

He was so high in the favour of Augustus and Agrippa that they not only secured to him certain north-east provinces on the other side of Jordan, but

also agreed to maintain the privileges of those Jews who were living amongst the heathen. Thus, in an assembly of the people, he was able to boast of his care for the Jews in all parts of the earth, and his rule seemed likely to become a prosperous one, had not events in his own family again aroused his wildest passions and darkened his intellect.

33. Herod's Death (4 B.C.)

The three sons of Herod and Mariamne were being educated at Rome; one died there, and Herod sent for the other two to return to Jerusalem. But Salome and his eldest son Antipater (by another wife) roused his suspicions against the two youths, and made him believe that they were plotting to avenge their mother. These intrigues and accusations went on for years; at last he had them both put to death.

After Mariamne's execution, Herod had married eight other women; he appointed the father of one of them, the priest Simon, to the high-priesthood. About this time, the death of Herod's brother Pheroras caused investigations to be made, in the course of which it was discovered that Antipater had sent him poison intended for the king, and the latter's suspicions against his eldest son became so strong that he sent for him from Rome, threw him into prison, and only awaited the permission of Augustus to put him to death. Meanwhile he (Herod) fell ill; nevertheless he was still powerful enough to put down the increasing disquiet in the kingdom; the prisons filled rapidly, chiefly with

Pharisees. Soon his state became dangerous, and his suffering was intense; but his violence and cruelty remained unabated. Five days before his death Antipater was executed by his order, and he directed Salome and her husband to put to death the imprisoned Pharisees after he should be no more. Soon after he ended his life, in the thirty-fourth year of his reign.

During his reign lived the two celebrated sages, Hillel and Shammai. The former is noted for the extreme gentleness and mildness of his nature; his best known saying is, "Do unto others as you would have others do to you."

34. Archelaus. Herod Antipas. Philip.

Herod's will (which required the confirmation of Augustus, to whom rich gifts were left) gave the crown and the greater part of the kingdom to his son Archelaus, made another son, Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee and Petræa, and a third son, Philip, tetrarch of the northern provinces. Salome, who had set free the imprisoned Pharisees, received a small province in the south-west. Disturbances soon arose in the kingdom, and almost all the members of Herod's family hurried to Rome to obtain Augustus's decision in their favour; while the Roman commanders, Sabinus and Varus, were left to quell the civil war and revolt in Palestine. Pretenders to the throne appeared everywhere: Judah, son of Hezekiah, Simon, formerly a slave of Herod, and a shepherd named Athronges, whose only claim to

royalty was his gigantic size and strength, attained some temporary power, and were with difficulty subdued. Augustus' decision at last confirmed Herod's will in all important points, but Archelaus was only to bear the title of Ethnarch. Repeated and well-grounded complaints against him led to his being deposed, and his dominions (Judea and Samaria) became a Roman province (A.C. 6). Philip ruled his tetrarchy wisely and justly for thirty-seven years; he rebuilt the town of Paneas, near the source of the Jordan, and called it Cæsarea (34). His half-brother Antipas also exerted himself for the improvement of his dominions, and founded the town of Tiberias, on the northern bank of Lake Gennezareth. Both brothers died childless.

35. Judea becomes a Roman Province (7-37 A.C.)

Judea and Samaria were now Roman provinces, governed by procurators, who were in their turn subject to the proconsuls of Syria. The government of Jerusalem was distinct from that of Samaria; the procurator's residence was generally in the port of Cæsarea. He had power over life and death, and appointed the high-priests and other officers of the state, while the internal administration was left to the Sanhedrim. Besides the annual temple-tax of two drachmæ, the Jews had also to pay a property-tax, house-tax, percentage on produces, and other duties. Complaints of the heavy duties were constantly heard, and the farmers of the taxes and the

collectors were considered dishonest and extortionate. In order to discover the amount of taxes which each individual should or could pay, the inhabitants were numbered and their property valued ; but this could not take place without encountering some resistance on the part of the Jews. But the revolt, headed by Judah of Galilee, was soon suppressed, and the census taken.

The best known of the procurators, who succeeded each other very rapidly, are Valerius Gratus (who appointed four high-priests in succession, the last being Joseph Caiphas), and Pontius Pilate, who was hated for his extortions and his tyranny, and who, it is said, killed himself. Jesus of Nazareth, the founder of Christianity, was crucified by his order (33).

36. Religion and Literature in Palestine.

During all this time of political confusion and oppression, the religious institutions of the Jews had not suffered, but had, on the contrary, further developed themselves. The services in the numerous synagogues assumed a more settled form, and a corresponding portion from the prophets (Haphtarah) was added to the usual reading from the Pentateuch. Since the time of the Syrian rule, the Aramaic tongue had more and more banished the Hebrew from the mouth of the people, and an Aramaic translation (Targum) was therefore added to the readings from the Scriptures. The language of the upper classes was Greek. Hebrew was only used by the learned

and the scribes, and it gradually assumed that weakened form, mingled with many Aramaic elements, and containing many Greek and Latin words, which is known as the new Hebrew or Rabbinical tongue. The explanations of the text of the Bible, especially of the Pentateuch, began to take a fixed form, decided by certain acknowledged rules (Meddoth); all laws and statutes were settled by fixed ordinances (Halachoth), and an endless variety of historical and legendary anecdotes illustrated the text, and were called Hagadoth. Neither Targum, Halacha, nor Hagada were to be written down against the will of the scribes.

On the other hand, Palestine was no place for the development of science. The calendar, the drawing up of which was considered the exclusive right of the president of the Sanhedrim (Nasi), was founded chiefly on empirical observations, aided by rules handed down by tradition from Greek astronomers. A belief in demons and sorcerers was current among the people, and conjurors wandered about the country, made so-called miraculous cures, and professed to drive out evil spirits.

As historians may be mentioned Nicolas of Damascus, King Herod's secretary, whose work has been made use of by Josephus, and who possibly was not a Jew even by descent.

37. The Jews in Egypt.

Egypt had at this time a very numerous Jewish population (about a million), consisting chiefly of

handicraftsmen and merchants. In Alexandria, where they occupied two parts of the city, they had long since endeavoured to obtain, and then to preserve, their social and legal equality with the Greeks. They possessed numerous synagogues, formed separate communities, with senators and presidents, and a common head or ruler, who bore the title of Alabarch. From Egypt the Jews extended themselves westward, especially to Cyrena. Besides slight disturbances between the Jews and the Greeks, a violent quarrel, that almost rose to open warfare in the city, broke out between the two parties during the reign of Caligula, whose portrait the Jews refused to hang in their synagogues. A petition against the Roman governor Flaccus, who had behaved with great injustice towards the Jews, was presented to the Emperor by a deputation headed by the philosopher Philo. It was not, however, until the reign of the Emperor Claudius that the Jews were granted their just demands.

38. The Alexandrines. Philo.

In strong contrast to the Jews in Palestine, the Jews in Alexandria cultivated science and philosophy, but in spite of their attachment to Judaism, they were less well acquainted with the Hebrew language and literature. The Greek translation of the Scriptures was increased by legendary additions. Jason of Cyrene wrote a history of the wars of the Maccabees, of which the second book of the Maccabees is an extract. The so-called third book of the Maccabees

is a legendary account of a persecution of the Jews, supposed to have taken place during the reign of Ptolemy Philopator.

The Book of Wisdom, which is commonly called the "Wisdom of Solomon," presents a noble exposition of ancient Jewish theology, clothed in Grecian garb, and animated by the most earnest conviction. At the summit of Jewish-Alexandrian learning stands Philo, born about the year 1 A.C., of a distinguished family,—his nephew Alexander occupied the position of Alabarch. Philo was perfectly conversant with the philosophy of Plato, and at the same time full of enthusiasm for Judaism. As already mentioned, he headed a deputation of his co-religionists to petition Caligula at Rome. His numerous Greek writings, distinguished by their brilliant style, treat of the history and ethics of Judaism in a mystic, allegorical form.

Those books which appear in the Greek, but not in the Hebrew Bible,—namely, the Maccabees, the third book of Ezra, Tobias, Judith, Sirach, Baruch, Jeremiah's Letter, additions to Daniel and Esther, etc.,—are called the Apocrypha.

39. Agrippa I. (37-44).

The reigns of Tiberius and Caligula had, on the whole, passed tranquilly for the Jews in Palestine; the excitement caused by Caligula's desire to have his portrait hung in the temple was fortunately ended by the assassination of the insane and ferocious tyrant. Once more Judea was to enjoy the semblance of a king. After a youth spent in adventures and dissi-

pation, Agrippa, grandson of Herod I. and son of Aristobulus, had received from Caligula the provinces previously governed by Philip and Antipas, and subsequently Claudius, Caligula's successor, gave him rule over the whole land, with the title of king, withdrawing, moreover, the Roman governors. His brother Herod was made king of the province of Chalcis. Agrippa endeavoured to win his subjects' love by generosity and affability, as well as by a careful adherence to the observances of Judaism. Like his grandfather he was fond of building, and he began to erect a third wall round the much enlarged capital—an undertaking which was, however, put an end to by the Syrian governor. He reigned barely seven years, and died of a painful disease at the age of fifty-three, leaving several daughters and a young son, also named Agrippa, who was being educated in Rome.

40. Agrippa II. The Revolt. Flavius Josephus.

Claudius did not immediately fulfil his promise of appointing Agrippa II. as his father's successor, as he was only seventeen years of age, and Palestine was again governed by procurators. The first of these was Cuspius Fadus, during whose administration a certain Theudas appeared as a self-declared prophet, and announced his intention of passing dry-shod through Jordan. He was captured and beheaded by the command of Fadus. The next procurator was Tiberius Alexander (47), who, though the son of

Alexander, the Jewish Alabarch of Alexandria, had forsaken the faith of his fathers. Not until the death of Herod of Chalcis (49) did Agrippa receive his little kingdom, which was afterwards somewhat enlarged.

The history of the last procurators is chiefly a succession of oppressions and extortions on the one side and seditions and revolts on the other. The Jews' uncontrollable love of freedom and the severe measures and avarice of the Roman rulers kept the land in a constant state of ferment, which increased to open revolt under the cruel and violent Gessius Florus. Agrippa was compelled to leave Jerusalem, where violent disturbances broke out among the various parties. The Roman garrison in Jerusalem was put to death, the governor Cestius Gallus defeated by the insurgents, and the revolt organised throughout the kingdom. They possibly counted on the assistance of the Parthians, amongst whom lived a large number of Jews. The government of Galilee and the fortress Gamala was intrusted by the Jews to Joseph, son of Mattathias, better known as the historian Flavius Josephus. This remarkable man, whose works form an important, though not always wholly trustworthy, source of information for the history of the last two centuries, was born in the year 37 A.C., was early acquainted with the various parties (Pharisees, etc.), and was in Rome in 63, where he *was very favourably* received by the Empress Poppea. *Although he was himself* opposed to the revolt, yet,

when the war had actually broken out, he would not separate himself from his countrymen, and displayed great activity in the post confided to him.

41. **Vespasian and Titus.**

The great extension of the rebellion caused Nero to send Vespasian, who had already won his laurels in Britain and in Germany, against Judea. He was at the head of a large army, and his son Titus brought him further reinforcements from Egypt (66-67). Vespasian first entered Galilee (where Sepphoris fell without resistance), and then besieged Josephus in the rock-fortress Jotopata, which was taken after a prolonged and heroic defence. Josephus fell into the hands of Vespasian, who, at the intercession of Titus, treated him kindly, and to whom he wholly attached himself. Already suspected by some of his countrymen, he was now entirely repudiated by them, and looked upon as a deserter and a renegade. Galilee was soon completely subdued, Joppa, Samaria, Tiberias, and other important places taken, and Vespasian prepared to march against Jerusalem. Before doing so, however, he subdued Peræa, and on receiving the news that the troops had proclaimed him emperor, he returned to Rome (69), leaving his son Titus in command.

42. **Siege of Jerusalem. Destruction of the Temple, 70.**

In the year 70 Titus appeared before Jerusalem, which, though strongly fortified and filled with large numbers of well-armed and heroic warriors, was un-

happily distracted by the quarrels of the various parties, who were no less violently opposed to each other than to the common foe. The Zealots, who were determined to resist to the last, and whose leaders were Eleazar, son of Simon the priest, John of Giscala, and Simon ben Gioras, called in the Idumeans to help them against the moderate party, to which belonged the priests and most of the members of the Sanhedrim. A terrible massacre was the result, and whoever was suspected of an inclination to surrender was in danger of his life. Soon famine, with all its terrible consequences, appeared in the city; but nevertheless every inch of ground was defended with unexampled heroism. In revenge for his repeated heavy losses, Titus crucified several hundreds of prisoners and fugitives before the eyes of the besieged—others were sent back, mutilated, to the city. Meanwhile one rampart after another fell into the hands of the besiegers; soon the strong tower of Antonia was taken; the sacrifices ceased on the 17th day of Tammuz, but nevertheless Titus' frequent proposals of surrender were decidedly refused. The galleries which connected the temple with Antonia were destroyed, and the Romans turned their various machines against the temple citadel for some time without much result. On the 10th day of Ab the besieged made a desperate sally, but were repulsed and pursued. On this occasion a Roman threw a burning brand into the temple, and the sacred building—it is said against the will of Titus

—was soon in flames. A desperate struggle continued for some time amidst the burning ruins, and ended at last in the complete victory of the Romans. The other parts of the town were now taken, in spite of a valiant resistance, and the defenders, already weakened by hunger, were put to death, even those who surrendered sharing the same fate. Titus ordered the temple and city to be made level with the ground; nothing remained but a piece of the western wall, with its three towers, Hippicos, Phasaelis, and Mariamne.

John of Giscala and Simon ben Gioras adorned Titus' triumphal entry; the triumphal arch erected for him still shows designs representing the various temple utensils.

43. Dissolution of the Kingdom.

Massada, the last fortress in the hands of the Jews, fell in 72, after the garrison had slain first their wives and children and then themselves. The country was partly divided among the Roman soldiery, partly sold in separate lots; numbers of the inhabitants were treated as slaves. The hitherto annual temple tax had to be paid to the emperor (*fiscus judaicus*). Agrippa spent his large fortune in Rome—his sister Berenice was for many years the favourite of Titus. Josephus received large tracts of land in Judea and an annual pension, and adopted the name of Flavius after that of the imperial family. In Rome he wrote his historical works—"The Jewish Wars," "The Antiquities of the Jews" (a history

of the Jewish people from the earliest times), a defence of the Jews against their foe Apion, and his own autobiography. These are all written in Greek—his Hebrew writings have not been preserved. The year of his death is unknown.

The Onias temple in Egypt was closed in the year 73.

SECOND PART.

THE DISPERSION OF THE JEWS AFTER THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE.

FIRST PERIOD.

The Jews in the Roman Empire until its Downfall.

44. General Character of the Epoch.

The last shadow of independence was gone, the Jews had ceased to exist as a separate nation, and had no longer a national centre.

Scattered gradually over the whole earth, they now only represented a religious community, and no longer formed a state. The interest of their history from that time forth centres in the preservation and development of those religious ideas, of which the people of Israel were and are the exponents, and in the culture and literature of Judaism. The political side of their history only concerns the various positions occupied by the Jews in the different countries in which they lived. Important events concerning the *whole* of Judaism do not occur.

The dispersion did not actually begin with the dissolution of the kingdom, but much earlier—with the end of the kingdom of Israel, since when it continued and increased. At the time of Titus, numerous Jewish communities were already established in the countries bordering the Euphrates and the Tigris, in Asia Minor, on the north coast of Africa, in Greece, and in Italy ; the Jewish community in Rome was large and influential even a hundred years before his reign. In that century, too, Judaism had gained many adherents among the heathen nations. Nevertheless for the following two hundred years, our attention is chiefly turned towards Palestine.

45. Condition of the Jews after the Dissolution of the Kingdom.

In the midst of the terrible calamity that had befallen the Jews, there were fortunately still some men left who did not despair, but endeavoured to save what they could, especially their intellectual treasures. Jochanan ben Zaccai, who had with difficulty escaped the suspicions of the Zealots, and fled from the city, assumed the leadership of the Sanhedrim after the death of Simon ben Gamaliel, the great grandson of Hillel, who had fallen during the war. With the permission of the Romans, he removed the Sanhedrim to Jamnia, and made various new ordinances to suit the alterations of time and place. All political activity was laid aside, and the members of the Sanhedrim occupied themselves solely with the precepts of the traditional law. The com-

pilation of the oral law was called "Mishna" (teaching), in contrast to the written law as found in the Bible, which was called "Mikra." The sages learned in the Mishna were called "Tannaim," and Simon the Just was already distinguished as one of them. Of the many disciples who surrounded Jochanan ben Zaccai, five are mentioned as the most celebrated: Eleazer b. Arak, Eliezer b. Hyrcanos, Jose ha-Cohen, Simon b. Nathaniel, Joshua b. Hananiah.

46. Gamaliel II. in Jamnia. Aquila, 90.

After Jochanan b. Zaccai, Gamaliel II., son of Simon b. Gamaliel (called "Gamaliel in Jamnia," to distinguish him from his grandfather) became leader of the Sanhedrim. Besides the already-mentioned disciples of Jochanan, his contemporaries and fellow-labourers were—Eliezer b. Asarja, who traced his descent from Ezra, Jochanan b. Nuri, Jochanan b. Beroka, Samuel Hakaton, Chalafta, and others. Gamaliel himself was favourable to the study of Greek; during his lifetime, and with the approval of Eliezer and Joshua, a new Greek translation of the Bible was undertaken by a heathen named Aquila, who had become a convert to Judaism. Only fragments remain of this translation, as well as of those of Symmachus and Theodotion.

The Greek form Akylas (= Aquila) was pronounced Ankelos by the Babylonian Jews, and thence Ankelos was named as the writer of the Targum used by the Babylonian Jews, which was not written down before the third century. This translation, it may be added, differs materially from the one used by the Jews in Palestine.

47. Akiba and his Contemporaries, 120.

In the following generation we have principally to notice Akiba b. Joseph, who, after a youth spent in idleness and ignorance, rose by dint of intelligence and activity to be one of the highest authorities, and whose peculiar method has had a lasting influence on Halachian studies. He laid the foundation for the compilation of the Mishna which afterwards became the one in general use. Besides Akiba, we may also mention—Tarphon of Lydda, Ishmael, Eliezer of Modim, Jose of Galilee, and Hananiah b. Teradion.

48. Barcochba, 132.

Palestine enjoyed scarcely half a century of the repose which it so much needed, and which was so necessary for its mental development. Trajan's campaign (114) against the Parthians, among whom were also many Jews, caused various disturbances in Palestine, which were suppressed by the Roman general Quietus. During the reign of Hadrian (117-138) a revolt, caused by edicts of violence and oppression, broke out among the Jews in almost the whole Roman empire—a revolt in which Akiba is also said to have taken part. Hopes for the restoration of an independent kingdom were entertained; a talented adventurer, Barcochba, placed himself at the head of the rebellion, and was considered to be the promised Messiah. After commencing with brief successes, he was compelled to retreat before the Roman commander Julius Severus, *and had to take refuge in Bettar.* After a desperate

resistance, the city was taken by the Romans in 135, and this ended the rebellion. The soil of Palestine was once more dyed with blood. Hadrian turned his wrath chiefly against the scribes and learned men, of whom many, such as Hananiah b. Teradion and Akiba, were put to death amidst horrible tortures; others fled the country or concealed themselves in caves. Hadrian took the severest measures to destroy the nationality of the Jews. He had the plough passed over Mount Zion, increased Jerusalem northwards and eastwards, renamed the city Aelia (after himself) Capitolina (after Jupiter), and strictly prohibited the Jews from entering Jerusalem, which was to become a completely heathen city.

49. The Jews under the Antonines, 138.

With the commencement of the reign of Antoninus Pius, the severe edicts against Jewish studies were removed or at least lightened. The disciples of Akiba who had escaped the sword during the previous reign met again in Ussa: to them belonged the keen-witted Meir, Simon b. Yochai, Jose b. Halefta, Jehuda b. Illai. As Patriarch (Nasi) they appointed Simon III., son of Gamaliel II., more in virtue of hereditary right than on account of his learning. But even during the generally peaceful reign of Antoninus Pius some small disturbances arose, and were severely repressed. The details of these are not known.

The above enumerated rabbins and their contemporaries form the last but one generation of the

Tannaim (the third since the destruction of the temple), and are the authorities most frequently quoted in the Mishna. Jose b. Halefta laid the foundation of a chronicle (Seder Olam), Jehuda b. Illai of a commentary (Midrash) on the book of Leviticus, called "Sifra," and Simon b. Yochai of another commentary on Numbers and Deuteronomy, called "Sifree." These works have been elaborated and written out by later rabbins. None of the Tannaim left any written works; Kabalistic writings have subsequently been incorrectly ascribed to Ishmael, Akiba, Simon b. Yochai, and others.

50. Jehuda Ha-Nasi. The Mishna, 190-220.

After the house of Hillel had already produced six patriarchs, it reached its highest glory in the seventh, Jehuda, son of Simon III., known as Jehuda Ha-Nasi or Jehuda Hakodesh (the Holy). He resided first in Tiberias, afterwards in Sepphoris, and was on friendly terms with the Antonines. Distinguished as he was by birth, position, and learning, he was able to undertake to collect, sift, and arrange all the existing Halachoth, and to have this collection acknowledged as the authorised Mishna or second code (the oral law). It is uncertain whether he himself removed the ancient prohibition of writing down Halachoth, or whether, even after his time, they were still handed down by word of mouth, and were not committed to writing till a later period; at all events, certain passages have been added at different times afterwards. The Mishna contains all those re-

ligious laws which have been handed down by oral tradition, and by the labours of the Soferim and Tannaim. The varying opinions of older authorities are frequently placed side by side, without any decision being given, the style is brief and concise, discussions are generally avoided, and the arrangement sometimes shows more attention to the similarity of the traditional forms than to the subjects of the Halachoth, although the latter is the most important point in the arrangement. The whole is divided into six general classes (Sedarim), namely, Zeraim (or seeds), Moad (festivals), Nashim (women), Nezekin (civil and criminal laws), Kadashim (sacrifices and food), Taharoth (laws of cleanliness). It is written in rabbinical Hebrew.

Each Seder is divided into treatises (Mesiktoth), each treatise into chapters (Perakim), and each chapter into paragraphs (Halakoth).

51. Successors of Jehuda Ha-Nasi, 219-280.

The splendour of the patriarchate faded more and more under the successors of Jehuda, his son Gamaliel III., and his grandson Jehuda II., who equalled him neither in learning nor in moral excellence; besides this the Babylonian schools now began to flourish, and Rab, a favourite disciple of Jehuda I., transplanted thither the study of the Mishna.

The compilation of the Mishna by Jehuda Ha-Nasi was completed by the addition of those Halachoth which he had not included, but which were collected

by his disciples under the name of "Toseftoth" or "Barathoth." Like the already-mentioned commentaries to the Pentateuch, the Sifra and Sifree, they served to complete and elucidate the Mishna itself, without being considered equal to it in authority. The Mishna remained the groundwork for the studies in all the schools of learning in Palestine, and as the most celebrated "Amoraim" (as the successors of the Tannaim were called) we may mention Hanina b. Hama, Jochanan b. Naphcha, Simon b. Lakish. The Emperor Diocletian, who is reported to have persecuted the Christians, does not seem to have been unfavourably disposed towards the Jews.

52. The Talmud Jerushalmi. Hillel II. Extinction of the Patriarchate.

The commentaries and discussions of the schools of Palestine on the Mishna were collected in the beginning of the fourth century; the collection is called Gemara (traditional teaching), or, together with the Mishna, the Talmud. To distinguish it from a later work of a similar kind, compiled in Babylon, it is called the Talmud Jerushalmi, the Talmud of Palestine, or the Western Talmud. Contemporary with the insignificant patriarchs, Gamaliel II. and Jehuda III., were the following distinguished Amoraim:—Ami and Asi, Eleazar b. Pedat, Abahu, Chaia and Simon b. Abba. The Talmud Jerushalmi included the commentary on the greater part of the first four Sedarim; the commentary to the fifth is probably no longer extant, and none was written for the sixth.

The patriarch Hillel II. (360) gained for himself the lasting merit of reducing the calendar to distinctly calculated rules, the greater part of which still form the groundwork of the Jewish reckoning. Till then the drawing up of the calendar had been the special right of the Nasi, and depended on the statements of witnesses, who declared the time at which they had seen the new moon. After Gamaliel V. the patriarchate became extinct.

53. The first Christian Emperors.

Meanwhile Christianity had risen into power, and every tie between it and Judaism had been severed. Constantine, who, in the early part of his reign (312), had proclaimed universal religious freedom, and had conceded to the patriarchs and heads of the synagogues and schoolhouses the same rights as to the Christian clergy and the heathen priests, afterwards became hostile to the Jews, prohibited severely the admission of proselytes, forbade them to purchase slaves, and taxed them heavily. His son Constantius renewed and increased these oppressions. Palestine suffered considerably under Gallus and his commander Ursicinus, who undertook a campaign against the Persian king Shabur; the towns of Sepphoris, Tiberias, and Lydda were partially destroyed in consequence of a revolt (352).

The reign of Julian (361-363), called by the Church Fathers the Apostate, gave the Jews a short period of relief. He was favourably disposed towards the Jews, and even made preparations for

restoring the temple in Jerusalem ; but after a brief reign he fell in battle against the Parthians.

Under the emperors who succeeded Julian, the Jews only occasionally found protection against the increasing fanaticism of the Christian bishops. Ambrose of Milan (384) and Cyril of Alexandria especially distinguished themselves in this particular ; it was reckoned an act of virtue to plunder and destroy the synagogues. Even Hieronymus, who owed his knowledge of Hebrew to Jewish teaching, expresses in strong terms his hatred of the Jews.

Under such circumstances, and amidst the confusion of the migration of many nations, that inaugurated a fresh era of barbarism, every new intellectual movement ceased ; the schoolhouses were deserted. The writings of that period, which are still extant, show nothing but collections of traditional precepts and explanations.

SECOND PERIOD.

The Jews in the new Persian Empire.

54. The Jews in the Lands of the Euphrates.

The lands on the borders of the Euphrates had long numbered a large proportion of Jews among their inhabitants, and their numbers had increased during the unsuccessful wars against the Romans, as the Parthians who possessed those districts were

able to maintain their independence. In the fertile and well-cultivated district that lies between the Tigris and the Euphrates, at the point where these two rivers draw near each other, certain towns, such as Apamea, Nares, Nehardea, Firuz-Shabur, Pumbeditha, Sora (or Matha Mahasia), Machusa, contained a large number of Jews. They were governed by Exilarchs (Resh Galutha)—supposed to be descended from David—who presided over the affairs and interests of their people, and paid fealty to and were recognised by the Parthian and Persian kings.

55. The Babylonian Schools.

An active intellectual life and the historical existence of the Babylonian Jews begins with Rab (Abba Arekka, died 243), a scholar of Jehuda I., who first introduced the study of the Mishna into the school of Sora. Successive schools were rapidly founded in the surrounding towns, and the Mishna was studied there with an energy and activity that threw the schools of Palestine into the shade, although the supreme authority of the latter was still recognised in matters of doubt. The schools in Sora and Pumbeditha were for centuries the most important of all. The students assembled in Sora in the months of Adar and Elul; these assemblies were called "Kalla," the lecturers "Roshi Kalla," and the schoolhouses themselves "Jeshiba" (Aramaic: Metibta), or "Sidra."

Of the first generation of Babylonian Amoraim, we may mention besides Rab, his friend Samuel (Arioch), known as an astronomer, died 253; of the second generation (260-320), Huna

in Sora, Jehuda b. Ezekiel in Pumbaditha, Nachman b. Jacob in Shekantzib on the Tigris, Rabba b. Abuha, Chasda, Sheshet; of the third generation (320-370), Rabba b. Nachman, Joseph the Blind, Abbaji and Nachman b. Isaac in Pumbaditha, Raba in Machusa, Papa b. Chanan in Nares.

56. The Babylonian Talmud.

Ashi, the president of the school in Sora from 367-427, distinguished equally by his piety and his learning, was the first to attempt the revision and compilation of the enormous mass of commentaries and treatises, which the Babylonian study of the Mishna had accumulated.

At each of the two Kalla months (*i.e.* the months in which the students met) one of the treatises of the Mishna was revised and studied, with all its Talmudic explanations and commentaries; so that in the course of thirty years, all the sixty treatises were gone through and set in order. The whole was then again revised by Ashi, and thus the Babylonian Talmud was, we may almost say, created. Although Ashi was for nearly sixty years at the head of the school of Sora, he was not able entirely to complete his gigantic undertaking, and it was continued and concluded, with the exception of a few additions, by Mar Emar, Rabina, Mar b. R. Ashi, and their contemporaries. The next written revision was caused, as it seems, by the persecutions which the Jews suffered under the Persian rulers, Jesdigerd III. (436) and Firuz (485). About the year 500 the Babylonian Talmud was finally completed, although

a few additions were admitted in later centuries. Only the commentaries to the second, third, fourth, and fifth Sedarim (or sections), and a few isolated treatises, are still extant; only one treatise of the first and sixth Sedar was studied or commented upon. The above-named rabbis and scholars of Ashi are considered the last of the Amoraim.

57. The Structure of the Talmud.

As was previously remarked, the Talmud is not a systematic commentary on the Mishna, but a collection of treatises and discussions, the subject of which is either the text of the Mishna, some passage in the Bible, or some circumstance connected with civil law. The most astonishing keenness of intellect is displayed in finding points of similarity between the most unlike, and points of difference between the most similar subjects, in order to discover and then to remove apparent contradictions, and to draw a series of conclusions from these delicate distinctions, the result of which is compared with others obtained in the same manner. The leading principle in all this is, that in the Bible, especially in the preceptive parts of the Pentateuch, not a word, not a letter, is superfluous or unnecessary—that even later ordinances and arrangements are to be found, or at least hinted at, in the sacred book. This peculiar tendency of opinion, the commencement of which already appears here and there in the Mishna, is much more developed in the Babylonian Talmud than in the Talmud Jerushalmi. The schools of Pumbaditha and the

time of Rabba and Abbaji are specially noted as the place and period at which this keenness of reasoning was most highly developed. But in fact the want of political interests or other literary labour caused the Jewish mind to seek its chief occupation and nourishment in these discussions—besides the fact that they were considered as meritorious from a religious point of view. Thus, despite the danger of sinking into one-sidedness and barren subtleties, the Jewish mind kept itself fresh and keen, ready in more favourable circumstances to turn successfully to other branches of human activity.

The long and serious discussions were often interrupted by incidental anecdotes (Hagadoth), employed as illustrations, by moral expositions, by proverbs, sayings, and parables, containing some moral truth under a quaint and fanciful form, by oriental romances, fables, and legends, by remarks on events of the times, and by facts of natural history, and medical science, etc., in so far as those subjects were then understood. Few were free from the belief in demons and such like superstitions, and those few more advanced minds could do but little against the evils of the time.

The language of the Talmud is partly rabbinical Hebrew and partly Aramaic; in the latter portions the two dialects become less and less distinct from each other.

The decisions of the Babylonian Talmud are considered a higher authority than those of the Talmud

Jerushalmi; the former was in fact much more carefully studied and compiled than the latter.

58. The Seboraim, 500-600.

The name of "Seboraim" (opinionists, or, as some say, casuists) was given to the teachers in the lands on the borders of the Euphrates during the sixth century, after the Talmud had been completed. A few additions to its pages are almost all that can be ascribed to their literary labours. The political state of the Persian kingdom was at that time very unfortunate; the Jews had to endure a series of persecutions, and many of the synagogues and schools were closed, while the buildings of those institutions were made over to the Persian priesthood. The young Exilarch Mar Sutra was taken prisoner in 514, and executed together with his grandfather Mar Hanina. Better times came under the rule of the wise and cultivated Nushirvan; the schools were again opened, and many additions were made to the Talmud. But disturbances again broke out, caused in some measure by the struggles between the families of Bastanai and Nehilai for the office of Exilarch, and between various Persian candidates for the throne; and it was not until the rise of Islamism, and its development in Persia, that a more tranquil and satisfactory state of affairs was inaugurated.

59. Later Collections of Halachoth and Hagadoth.

Various treatises, intended to complete and illustrate the Talmud, were about this time added to its

already voluminous pages. Among these we may mention "Masseketh Soferim" (concerning divine service and the scrolls of the law), "Derek Ereth" (on social customs), "Semakoth," or "Ebel Rabbathi" (funeral ordinances), and a commentary on the treatise "Avoth," by Rabbi Nathan. The so-called "little treatises" in most of the editions of the Talmud are printed at the end of the fourth Sedar; it is unknown by whom, where, or at what time, they were composed. Of a later date (probably) are similar treatises upon "Gerim" (proselytes), "Kuthim" (Samaritans), "Eretz Israel" (ordinances relating to life in Palestine), and others.

The Hagadoth as well as the Halachoth were connected with different parts of the Bible; the most ancient of the collections of Hagadoth ("Midrashim" collections) is the "Bereshith Rabba," which, as its name implies, is a commentary on Genesis. In course of time the rest of the Pentateuch and other parts of the Bible were provided with similar commentaries, and the whole collection, which was not completed till the beginning of the middle ages, is called "Midrash Rabba."

60. Divine Service.

Since the destruction of the temple, the synagogue ritual, in which prayers had now taken the place of sacrifices, was especially attended to, and was constantly enlarged and developed. First, corresponding to the sacrifices, came the "Tefillim," which were repeated three or four times daily, and

consisted on week days of eighteen (afterwards nineteen), and on Sabbaths and holidays of seven, blessings (*Berakoth*). At morning and evening prayer these were preceded by the "Shema," with its blessings; the service began with certain psalms, and other hymns, penitential prayers, etc., followed. On special days portions of the Bible, accompanied by the Aramaic paraphrase (*Targum*), were read, and an explanatory discourse was frequently added. The "Musaph" (additional service) for the Day of Atonement and New Year had already been enlarged and elaborated in the Talmudic period; but in general the prayers were short and simple, and rarely complicated by artificial forms, such as the alphabetic arrangement of words, etc. The language was kept as closely as possible to the biblical Hebrew.

61. Masora. Vowels and Accents.

Amongst the things which were not left to merely oral tradition may be reckoned the pronunciation of the hitherto vowelless Bible text. This was now fixed and decided by means of "points" (vowels), and the whole system of accents for the purposes of (a) indicating the accentuation, (b) marking the punctuation, and (c) regulating the chanting in public worship, was arranged and taken into use. The originator of these labours, which laid the foundation of the study of grammar, and the exact date of their commencement, are alike unknown. Tiberias, which even in Christian times contained a large Jewish community, is pointed out as the place where the so-

called Masoretic studies were especially cultivated. In the same way as Babylonian Targums and Talmuds sprang up side by side with those of Palestine, so also the system of vowels and accents, called the Tiberian (which is the one now universally accepted), was followed by a Babylonian one, which was, however, but little used or known.

THIRD PERIOD.

The Jews in Asia and Africa under Islamite Rule.

62. Jews in Arabia.

Colonies of Jews had probably settled in Arabia at a very early date; they were no doubt especially numerous after the second dissolution of the kingdom. In the first centuries of the Christian era there were several free Jewish-Arabian tribes in Jathrib, in the province of Chaibar. In South Arabia they traded with India, Persia, and the Byzantian empire, while the North Arabian Jews led a nomadic life. An Arabian king of Yemen is said to have adopted Judaism, and to have persuaded his subjects to do the same. At all events, there is no doubt that the Jews in Arabia enjoyed perfect freedom, and it is also certain that their higher state of civilisation exercised great influence on the heathen Arabs. Mahomed himself owes much to his acquaintance with Jews and Judaism; the Koran is

filled with reminiscences—often much altered and disfigured—of the Bible and the Hagada.

The great changes which the rise and spread of Islamism brought to the nations who adopted it are of special importance for Jewish history, because it so happened that those were the very countries in which the greater number of Jews were then living: parts of Asia, North Africa, and subsequently the Spanish Peninsula.

63. The Geonim.

Even during the lifetime of Mahomed, and after his death, during the reign of the Caliph Omar, several of the Jewish tribes in Arabia were compelled to adopt the tenets of Islam; others, while permitted to retain their religion, were compelled to accompany the Arabs on their victorious campaigns, which were inspired partly by religious enthusiasm, and partly too by love of conquest. Palestine was soon torn from the Byzantine rule, and a mosque was erected in Jerusalem on the site of the temple. The Sassanide kingdom was dissolved with the help of the Jews, who lived there in a constant state of oppression; and Bastanai, a descendant of the Exilarchs of the house of David, was recognised as Exilarch (642). When Firuz-Shabur was taken by the Caliph Ali, 90,000 Jews assembled, led by the head of the school, Mar Isaac, who was well received and confirmed in his office by the Caliph. The schools of Sora and Pumbaditha flourished anew; their chiefs from that time assumed the title of

"Gaon" (plural Geonim), and stood at the head of all religious and legal matters, while the Exilarch (Resh Galutha) was at the head of all political affairs, and was immediately subject to the emperor.

Questions of every kind were submitted from far and near to the decision of the Geonim, whose schools were the centres of Talmudic learning; the answers to these questions (which were afterwards collected together) formed the whole of the literary activity of the Geonim until the middle of the eighth century. Jehuda the Blind, Gaon in Sora (about 760), composed a compendium called "Halachoth Ketuoth," which was afterwards joined to and amplified by a similar work by Simon of Kaira (Cairo), which was called "Halachoth Gedoloth." Achai of Shachba (who emigrated to Palestine in 760, in indignation at being passed over at the election of a Gaon in Pumbaditha) is the author of the "Sefer Shealoth," a series of questions and answers, divided into 191 treatises, on subjects in the Halacha and Hagada.

64. The Karaites.

About the middle of the eighth century there originated a sect, which caused a division in Judaism lasting unto the present day—namely, the sect of the Karaites. Its first appearance is wrapt in uncertainty. Anan b. David is said to have first appeared as the opponent of Talmudism, in indignation at not receiving the post of Exilarch or Gaon; he is supposed to have denied the "oral tradition" supported

by the Talmudists, and to have based his religious system on the Bible alone. The writings ascribed to Anan have not been preserved ; but the tendencies to which they gave rise produced a rich store of literature (written chiefly in Arabic) for the practical and dogmatic development of Karaism. The chief points of difference between it and Talmudism concern the festivals, the Sabbath laws, forbidden food, and marriage laws. Karaism, however, is far from keeping strictly to the letter of the law ; on the contrary, the religious forms of the rabbis are frequently taken as a groundwork, and then elaborated to an almost impracticable extent. The controversy between the Karaites and the Talmudists had the advantage of making the latter give more attention than formerly to the study of philosophy, to a rational explanation of the Scriptures, and to a more scientific treatment of the Hebrew language.

As Karaite writers in the first century of the sect's existence we may mention—Benjamin b. Moses of Nahawend, Daniel b. Moses Alkomsí, Sahal b. Mazliach, and others.

The historical records of the Karaites are untrustworthy, and must be used with great caution ; Karaite congregations existed in Babylon, Egypt, and the Byzantine empire.

65. The Khozars. Eldad ha-Dani.

About the same time as the origin of Karaism common tradition relates the conversion of a whole kingdom—that of the Khozars—to Judaism. It is said that one of their kings, called Bulan, arranged a discussion between a Jew, a Christian,

and a Mohammedan, and finally adopted the tenets of Judaism. The Jewish sage who conducted the argument on behalf of his religion is named Sangari. One of the later kings was called Joseph—he was in correspondence with Chisdai b. Isaac of Cordova. Judaism may have probably prevailed for two or three centuries among this nation.

Doubtful reports of the supposed descendants of the ten tribes in Ethiopia and Southern Arabia were spread by the traveller Eldad ha-Dani about the time of the Gaon Zemach (980).

66. Saadja Gaon, 892-942.

The ninth century numbers among its Geonim—Amram in Sora, 809-831, whose prayer-book (Siddur Amram) was much used in Europe; Zemach in Pumbaditha, 872-890, who compiled a Talmudic lexicon; Nachman in Sora, 881-889. But the most celebrated of all was Saadja b. Joseph, born 892, in Pithom (Al Fium), in Egypt, and appointed Gaon in Sora, 928. Quarrels soon arose between him and the Exilarch David bar Zachai, a proud, obstinate man, who endeavoured in vain to make the Gaon consent to an unjust sentence. The strife, into which even the Caliphs were drawn, lasted many years; and it is said that Saadja, finding his life in danger, spent several years in hiding from Zachai's persecutions. The insults and humiliations he had endured caused his death at the early age of fifty (942). He was one of the most many-sided writers which Judaism has produced. His writings include

commentaries and Arabic translations of the Bible, an important religious and philosophical work, "Sefer ha-Emunah" (on the articles of faith), a commentary on the "Sefer Jetsira," grammatical, chronological, and Talmudical treatises and synagogal poems. He was a much dreaded opponent of the Karaites. His immense literary activity is scarcely yet known to its full extent.

67. The last Geonim, 1040.

By the beginning of the tenth century the decay of the Babylonian schools became apparent; they had ceased to be the centre and summit of intellectual activity. The active life, which developed itself in Arabia under the rule of the Caliph Haroun al Rashid and his successors, was instrumental in turning the Jews from their one-sided devotion to the Talmud, so as to call their attention to other branches of learning as well as to commercial interests. The school in Sora soon fell into complete decay; four learned Talmudists, who were sent out to collect contributions for the schools, were taken prisoners by the Arabian admiral Ibn Romahis, and were sold as slaves—one, Shamaria, to Alexandria; the second, Hushiel, to Cyrene; the third, Moses, to Cordova. Here the rabbinical knowledge of Moses, who made his way into the synagogue, clad in the most wretched garments, was soon recognised and appreciated. The chief rabbi Nathan vacated his office in the stranger's favour, and the Caliph gladly encouraged the growth of Talmudical learning in his dominions, so that the

Jews there might become independent of the Babylonian schools.

The more the knowledge of the Talmud increased in Spain, the greater and the more rapid was the decay of the college in Pumbaditha; but before its complete downfall two celebrated men occupied the office of Gaon. These two were Sherira, son of Hanina, and his son Hai, who for a time occupied the high office together. Sherira became Gaon in 968, and in 987 his son Hai was appointed Co-gaon at the early age of eighteen. Both father and son were voluminous writers. Sherira composed an important Talmudical work called "Megilloth Setarim" (on the meaning of Hagadoth); his "Iggereth" (epistle) gives a valuable list of the Geonim. He died at an advanced age in 998. Hai was a cultivated, scientific man, well acquainted with Arabic; he was averse to Kabalistic superstitions, and endeavoured to promote a rational comprehension both of the Bible and of the Talmud. He composed commentaries on some portions of the Mishna, various legal works, and an exposition of the Pentateuch in Arabic verse called "Musar Haskal." His father-in-law Samuel b. Hofni was Gaon in Sora at the time when Hai filled that office in Pumbaditha. He was the author of a philosophical commentary on the Pentateuch, and some Talmudical works. He died in 1034, and Hai four years later. Hiskiah, the great-grandson of David b. Zachai, was appointed to succeed the latter, but after two years he was deposed in 1040

by the grand vizier of the reigning caliph. From that time the Gaonship was at an end, and Babylon lost all importance for Jewish intellectual life.

68. Egypt. Cyrene. Fez..

In spite of its numerous Jewish inhabitants, Egypt at this period shows but few names of any importance. Simon of Cairo and Saadja of Pithom have been already mentioned ; nothing more is known of Shemaria, who was sold as a slave to Alexandria, than that he became chief rabbi in the capital, Mizraim. Karaite congregations existed in the above-mentioned towns ; later on Maimonides cast a temporary brilliancy over Judaism in Egypt.

Cyrene was the abode of the physician Isaac b. Solomon Israeli (about 850-950), author of medical and philosophical works, and a commentary on the "Sefer Jetsira." About 1000 Hananiel, the son of Hushiel, wrote a commentary on the Pentateuch and the Talmud, which has been thrown into the background by the commentaries of the French school. Nissim b. Jacob (987) corresponded with Sherira Gaon, and commentated the "Sefer Jetsira;" his son Nissim is, however, better known : he made a collection of Hagadian anecdotes, and wrote a key (Maftah) to the Talmud.

The grammarian Dunash b. Labrath, a native of Bagdad, lived and wrote in Fez, but Jehuda Chaiung and Isaac b. Jacob, though born in the latter town, spent most of their lives in Spain, to which country their literary career properly belongs.

69. Midrash. Kabala. Synagogal Poetry.

The contributions of this period to Hagadistic literature are—certain portions of the “Midrash Rabba,” the “Midrash Yelamdenu” or “Tanchuma” (a Hagadian commentary on the Pentateuch), the “Pesiktoth” (or portions of treatises for the Scripture readings on special Sabbaths), the “Tana debe Eliahu” (in which instruction of various kinds is put into the mouth of the prophet Elijah), and many other smaller Midrashim.

The Kabala (secret doctrine), which was at first not permitted to be written down, had by this time also a literature of its own. Among the works of the early Kabalistic school we may mention the “Sefer Jetsira,” in which the creation is connected with a symbolical system of numbers and letters, the “Pirke” of Rabbi Eliezer, the books “Hekaloth,” “Raziel,” “Shiur Komah,” “Bahir,” in many of which the Deity is represented under a material form, and other equally strange views are set forth. The authors of these works are unknown, and the date of their composition can only be approximately determined.

The development of divine service brought with it the introduction of various forms of poetry, such as “Hoshanoth” and “Selichoth” (hymns of praise and penitence). Soon, diverging from its former simplicity, the contents of the Hagada began to be treated in a more or less artificial form. Such compositions are called “Piut” (plural Piutim), and their authors Peit

or Peitan. One of the most ancient of these poets is Jose b. Jose, of unknown date and nationality, who took as his subject for a Piut the Musaph of the New Year's service, and also composed an "Avoda," arranged alphabetically, but without rhyme. The most celebrated and influential writer of synagogal poetry was, however, Eleazar Kalir (about 800), the author of more than two hundred poems for divine service. His style is terse, crowded with images, often complicated by new forms of words and phrases, and here and there rendered artificial by involved versification, rhymes, and acrostics, but full of truly poetic fervour and enthusiasm. He took his subjects from the Hagada and Halacha, and has adorned almost all the festival rituals with his Piutim. His way of treating the Hebrew language has been frequently imitated, and as often blamed and disapproved of.

70. General Summary.

At the time of the downfall of the Geonim, the centrepoint of Judaism was no longer to be found in Asia, although a large Jewish population still inhabited the dominions of the Caliph. But the southern countries of Europe and Africa already contained a large number of flourishing Jewish communities, whose branches found their way into the middle of Europe, and it is with these European communities that our history is now chiefly concerned.

The Bible had been long completely provided with vowels, accents, and signs of all kinds; the Babylonian system of punctuation was forgotten by the

Rabbanites, and followed only by a portion of the Karaites. The Midrash, the latest additions to which date from the time of the Geonim, was set aside more and more in favour of rational explanations; grammar and philology began to be cultivated with especial success in Spain and the north of Africa. The Karaites have the merit of having given an impulse to these studies; their own early productions exceed those of the contemporary rabbins in bulk and number, but not in their real value, and in successive centuries they appear only as the followers and imitators of the other Jews.

The Talmud was at this time definitely concluded. Jehuda and Simon in Cairo, Nissim b. Jacob, Zemach, and Hai, introduced grammatical, philological, and other studies. The Talmud Jerushalmi was little noticed.

FOURTH PERIOD.

**The Jews in Europe till towards the end
of the Middle Ages.**

71. The Jews in Spain under the Visigoths.

The history of the Jews in Spain has a special interest during the whole of the Middle Ages. The eminent and many-sided intellectual culture of the Spanish Jews, which reached its climax about 1200, has had an important influence on the whole of *Judaism*.

Even before the general migration of nations many Jews had settled in Spain. Under the Visigoths they enjoyed almost equal rights with the Christians, and as long as Arian doctrines prevailed they were admitted to public offices and military service. Later on, when the Roman Catholic Church came into power, their position changed for the worse. King Reccared (590) promulgated the severest decrees against the Jews: they were to keep no slaves, occupy no public offices, marry no Christians. King Sisibuth (612) even issued an edict that all Jews who would not accept Christianity were to leave the kingdom—an edict which was confirmed by King Chintilla (638). A number of Jews feigned compliance; many died martyrs for their faith. Finally, the conquest of Spain by the Arabs delivered the Jews from this unhappy condition.

72. The Moors in Spain.

In the year 711, the Moors, led by Taric, crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, defeated the last Gothic king, Rodriguez, at Xeres de la Frontara, and rapidly conquered almost the whole of the Peninsula. Their army included many Jews, who were gladly joined by their oppressed Spanish co-religionists; the fortresses taken by the invaders were intrusted to their charge. They received religious freedom, were under their own jurisdiction, and had only, like the Christians, to pay a poll-tax to the Arabs. Very large and flourishing communities sprang up in Granada, Cordova, Toledo, and other towns. The social equality,

Chaiug (about 1025) wrote treatises on some portions of the Hebrew grammar; Jonah ibn Gannach was, however, by far the most distinguished in that field of learning; his works, written in Arabic, have been much used by later authors, and have only lately been duly valued and known.

75. Samuel ha-Nagid, 1027-1055.

In the early part of the eleventh century, the Caliphate, in consequence of frequent civil wars, was divided into many little states, and Cordova was ravaged by Soliman of Barbary. The most important Jewish families left the city and settled in Saragossa, Toledo, and other places. Samuel ha-Levi fled to Malaga and supported himself there by petty commerce. His beautiful Arabic handwriting made him known to the vizier of the king of Granada (to whose dominions Malaga belonged) and afterwards to King Habus himself. The latter appreciated the great intellect of the Jewish trader, and promoted him to the office of Katib (or minister of state). His cleverness and modesty disarmed the envy of the Arabs, and his learning and piety benefited his co-religionists, over whom he ruled as Nagid or Nasi (1027). He provided copies of the Bible and the Talmud for poor congregations and scholars, not only in his native land, but also in Palestine and Babylon; he was himself learned in the Talmud, is said to have understood seven languages, and was not without poetical gifts. He maintained his ministerial dignity, with which he combined the rabbinical functions

under Badis, the successor of Habus, and died greatly honoured in 1055.

His son Joseph ha-Nagid succeeded to his father's offices ; he was the son-in-law of Nissim b. Jacob in Cyrene, and resembled his father in his virtues and learning. Unfortunately, however, he possessed neither his modesty, nor his tact, and the long suppressed envy of the population of Granada came to a terrible outbreak—almost the whole of the Jewish community of Granada, including Joseph ha-Nagid, fell victims to the popular fury, 1066.

76. Salomo Gabirol. Bachja b. Joseph, 1050.

The fairest fruit of Hebrew literature in the eleventh century is to be found in the works of Salomo ben Jehuda Gabirol, who was equally great as a poet and as a philosopher. He lived in Saragossa, where he found a protector in the celebrated Jekutiel. He laments his violent death in a touching elegy,—all his poems, indeed, that treat of his own personal affairs are distinguished by their melancholy tone. His religious poems are full of the purest and loftiest feeling, and have found a lasting place in almost every Jewish ritual. His philosophic work, "Makor Chaim," was long ascribed to one Avicebiron, and it is only latterly that this name has been identified with "Ibn Gebirol." He also wrote an ethical work (entitled "Tikkun Midwoth ha-Nafesh"), and a collection of proverbs ("Mibchar Peninim)," which was translated from Arabic into Hebrew. He died about 1070.

Among his contemporaries were Bachja b. Joseph

ibn Bakoda, author of the much-read "Chobot ha-Lebabot" (Duties of the Heart), which was likewise translated from Arabic into Hebrew; the poet, Joseph b. Chisdai; and the daring Bible critic, Isaac b. Jasus, called Jizchaki, of whose works only some fragments have been preserved.

77. The Five Isaacs, 1050-1100.

In spite of the misfortune which had befallen the Jews of Granada, numerous Jewish communities began to flourish in other parts of Spain. Jewish viziers and secretaries were to be found at many Mohammedan courts, and even the successes of the Christian forces did not at first make any difference in this respect.

The study of the Talmud received a special impetus through the labours of five learned Talmudists, who happened all to bear the name of Isaac. Isaac b. Baruch Albalia (1035-1094), having happily escaped the massacre at Granada, settled first at Cordova under the protection of Samuel and Joseph ha-Nagid, and then removed to Seville, where he became court astronomer under the ruler of Seville, Almutamed. Besides Talmudic and astronomical studies, he also cultivated philosophy with considerable success. Isaac b. Juda ibn Giat of Lucena (who was at the head of the congregation of that town), is known as a composer of religious poems and treatises on the Talmud—he died 1089. Isaac b. Reuben of Barcelona, who lived in Dania, also wrote Talmudic treatises. Isaac b. Moses ibn Sakni migrated to the

east, and became Gaon in Pumbaditha. The most celebrated Talmudist of the five Isaacs is Isaac b. Jacob Alfasi (of Fez). He was a scholar of Nissim and Hananel, and devoted himself entirely to the study of the Talmud. He composed a series of Halachoth, and his compendium of a certain portion of the Talmud, which is generally called after him, "Alfasi," is one of the principal rabbinical authorities, and has been much commented on. He died at Lucena in 1103, at nearly ninety years of age; his epitaph was written by Moses ibn Esra and Jehuda ha-Levi.

Meanwhile Christianity was getting more and more the upper hand in Spain. Alfonso VI., king of Castile, who employed several Jewish diplomatists, and continued to do so in spite of the remonstrances of Pope Gregory VII., had taken possession of Toledo in 1085. Almutamed applied for help to the Almoravian prince Jussuf (from the north of Africa); but though the latter defeated Alfonso, he at the same time put an end to the power of the native Moslem rulers, and Almutamed himself lost both his crown and his life. The Jewish inhabitants of the south of Spain suffered considerably during these wars, but their social freedom was not diminished, and Jewish doctors and ministers of state were employed at the court of the Almoravian rulers. Abraham b. Chijja of Barcelona (1065-1136) occupied the post of "Zachib-al-Shorta" (minister of police): he composed a voluminous work on the various subjects

of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and chronology, of which only a small portion is at present known. He and his contemporary Jehuda b. Barsillai, author of the Talmudic work "Sefer-ha-Ittim," afterwards lived in Marseilles. Joseph ibn Migash, rabbi in Lucena till 1041, was a more learned Talmudist than either of the preceding; amongst his pupils was Maimon, the father of the Maimonides.

About this time, the Jews in the north of Africa suffered terrible persecutions at the hands of the Almohades, followers of the fanatical Abdallah ibn Tumart; thousands were compelled to feign an outward compliance with Moslemism. Under the leadership of Abdulmumen the Almohades crossed over to Spain, took Cordova (where the venerable Joseph ibn Zadik was rabbi) in 1148, and spent their proselytising fury on Jews and Christians alike. Jehuda ibn Esra, governor of Calatrava, sheltered and protected many fugitives.

78. Moses ibn Esra. Jehuda Halevi. Abraham ibn Esra.

Moses ibn Esra, brother of the already-mentioned Jehuda ibn Esra, and the friend and contemporary of Jehuda Halevi, occupies an important place among the Jewish poets of Spain. He was a profound thinker, as well as a fluent and eloquent writer, and he composed a large number of religious and secular songs, also a book on Jewish poets and poetry. His "Selichoth" or penitential hymns are *greatly esteemed*. He died 1138.

But amongst all the numerous poets which Judaism has produced, the place of honour must be given to Jehuda Halevi, born in Castile about 1085. He was a physician by profession, and a man of wealth and influence. About 1140, he made a pilgrimage to Palestine, but we have no authentic account of his having ever reached Jerusalem. He is the author of the much-read and highly-valued book called "Khozari," which treats of the most important parts of Judaism, in the form of an imaginary dialogue. It is grounded on the already-mentioned circumstance of a king of the Khozars, together with his people, having embraced the Jewish religion. It has been translated from Arabic into Hebrew by Jehuda ibn Tibbon, whence it has been successively rendered into Spanish, Latin, and German. Even better known than the "Khozari" are Jehuda Halevi's religious and secular songs, in which he pours out all the nobility and purity of his soul and mind; he is the author of more than 300 *Piutim* for the various feasts and fasts of the Jewish calendar.

Abraham b. Meir ibn Esra (1093-1167) of Toledo, equally great as a philologist, poet, mathematician, philosopher, and Bible-commentator, was almost constantly travelling, and visited Italy, Greece, Africa, and France. His commentaries include the whole Bible, with the exception of the earlier prophets. He has also written an excellent Hebrew grammar ("Sefer Moznaim"), and among his minor

works may be mentioned a metrical treatise on the game of chess. Many of his writings are still unedited.

79. Abraham b. David. Benjamin of Tudela.

Abraham b. David (Ibn David) Halevi, who must not be confused with Abraham b. David of Beaucaire, was the author of the historical work "Sefer Hakabala" (1160), of which the part which treats of the tenth and eleventh centuries is of special value. The history of the Romans and of the second temple, which it includes, is marred by many errors. He shows himself to be an independent and original thinker in a philosophical work which has been translated from the Arabic under the title of "Emuna Rama." He died the martyr's death in 1180.

Benjamin b. Jona of Tudela devoted himself chiefly to researches on the state of the various Jewish colonies in the East and West. He left Saragossa in 1160, and travelled through Southern Europe and parts of Asia and Africa. He mentions the name of the chief rabbi and learned men of every town he came to, so that the account of his travels ("Massanoth") is of great interest not only for the information concerning the state of the Jewish communities, but also for the insight it gives into the general geographical knowledge of his time. It has been often printed, and has been translated into German, Latin, French, and English,

80. Moses Maimonides (Rambam), 1135-1204.

The scientific development of Judaism in Spain reached its climax in Moses Maimonides. This great man was born, March 30, 1135, in Cordova. In early youth he already showed signs of unusual capacity, and his learned father Maimon soon began to lead him in the paths of science. His mind was unusually clear, logical, and systematic, his will of iron, and his character blameless. His youth was spent in sad times. Dreading the tyranny of the Almohades, who, as has already been mentioned, instigated a cruel persecution of the Jews, many of whom died as martyrs for their faith, Maimon fled with his children to Fez, where for many years they were obliged to conceal their religion. Here Moses associated with Mahommedan doctors and philosophers, and became thoroughly acquainted with the Aristotelian philosophy, which was the leading spirit of the Middle Ages, and which he studied in the works of Jewish and Arabic commentators, but he was no less careful to study all works relating to Judaism. In 1165 Maimon and his family were at last able to leave Fez; after a stormy passage they reached Acre, and thence journeyed by way of Jerusalem and Hebron to Egypt, where they settled in Fostat (Old Cairo). Here Maimon died, and Moses and his brother supported themselves by trading in jewels. But new misfortunes befell him: his brother died, and his small fortune was lost, so that for a long while his life was a comfortless one. He next

devoted himself to medicine ; but his reputation as a rabbinical authority soon extended to distant lands, though jealousy and fanaticism attacked him even in his own community. He subsequently obtained the post of physician to Saladin's successor, and the duties of his position, combined with those of chief rabbi of Cairo, made his life unusually active and well employed. He died December 13, 1204.

81. The three great Works of Maimonides.

After Maimonides had written a little book on the calendar and another on the terms used in logic ("Miloth Higgsaion"), in his twenty-third year, he published nothing more till 1168, when he produced his first great work, a commentary on the Mishna, the fruit of many years of labour. It was written in Arabic, but has been several times translated into Hebrew.

His next great work (1170-1180) which may indeed be called his greatest, is his "Mishneh Torah" (repetition of the law), which has since been called "Yad Hachazakah" (the strong hand). It is a magnificent exposition of the whole of the Jewish law, written in fourteen books, and will always be a lasting memorial of the immense comprehensiveness of Talmudic learning, and of the mastery obtained by a keen and philosophic mind over such vast material. The work itself is written in Hebrew, but it was preceded by a small Arabic introduction, called "Sefer Hammitswoth," on the 613 precepts of the law.

His third great work was written in Arabic. It

is called "Moreh Nebuchim" (the guide of the perplexed), and is divided into three parts: the first treats of the anthropomorphic expressions found in the Bible, and of the religious-philosophic sects; the second, of eternity and of the creation of the world; and the third, of the reasons for the commandments of Scripture. This work undoubtedly takes the first place in the literature of Jewish philosophy.

Many portions of the Mishneh Torah have been translated into Latin and other languages. The *Sefer Hammitswoth* has been thrice translated into Hebrew, and the *Moreh Nebuchim* twice by Samuel b. Tibbon and Jehuda Charisi.

82. The lesser Works of Maimonides.

Besides a large number of religious and legislative decisions, Maimonides has left four epistles and controversial treatises, which give valuable information with regard to the state of his times:—

(1) "Iggereth Hashemad," a youthful production, in which he combats the exaggerated opinion that Islamism was nothing better than absolute idolatry, and that the feigned adoption of its tenets, while secretly observing those of Judaism, was culpable in the extreme.

(2) "Iggereth Teman," an exhortation addressed to the Jews in Yemen (South Arabia), 1172, who were troubled by Moslem fanatics and Jewish pseudo-Messiahs; he endeavours to strengthen the sufferers in their faith, combats the dangerous belief that the time of the advent of the Messiah can be foretold,

and mentions several instances of misfortunes that have been caused by that belief.

(3) "Maamar-Techijat-hametim," on the resurrection of the dead (1191), in which he defends himself against the misunderstandings, caused by his conception of that article of faith.

(4) An epistle to the learned of Marseilles (1194), who had asked his opinion as to the importance of astrology. In it he says that a belief in astrology borders on superstition, and that man ought to be guided only by the three following truths:—(a) Those proved to us by the senses ; (b) Those discovered by science ; (c) Those announced to us by revelation and the prophets.

Maimonides's correspondence has been compiled in several collections. His medical works and some few Talmudic treatises are of lesser value.

83. The Fate of Maimonides's Works.

The writings of Maimonides had an extraordinary effect on his co-religionists and contemporaries. Ten years after the appearance of the *Mishneh Torah* it was known and read by almost every Jewish community. By some it was received with enthusiasm, and praised up to the skies. By others it was thrown aside contemptuously or attacked with violent controversy. It was said to have been written with the intention of superseding the study of the Talmud and of putting a stop to the development of the Halacha. Amongst its opponents we find the names of Abraham b. David in Provence ; Samuel b. Ali, the head

of the college in Bagdad ; Mar Secharja in Aleppo, who feared the rivalry of Joseph ibn Aknim, the favourite scholar of Maimonides. Maimonides repelled all attacks that came to his notice with calmness and dignity ; in his replies it was his habit never to mention his opponents by name.

84. The Jews in Provence.

Political conditions as well as the influence of climate tended to unite the Jews of the south of France with those of Spain, and to increase the distance between them and those in the north of the former country. After the persecutions of the Almohades (§ 77) had gone far to crush Judaism in the south of Spain, we find it concentrated in Castile and Catalonia, and in constant intercourse with the south of France.

The political condition of the Jews in this fertile land had on the whole been a favourable one. The hostile attitude of the Bishop Agobart (830) had had no evil results, and it was not until the downfall of the Carolingians that the fate of the Jews became dependent on the nobles and priests. After the tenth century Talmudic studies were actively carried on in several communities. Machir, a learned Jew of Babylon, who was sent by Haroun-al-Rashid to Charlemagne,—it is said at the request of the latter,—had already founded a school in Narbonne. Moses Hadarshan flourished there as an expounder of Hagadoth in 1060, and in 1140 the learned Abraham b. Isaac, called Ab-bet-din, the author of the book “ Esh-

kol," which has only lately been published. Meshullam, with his five learned sons, Jonathan-ha-Cohen, who emigrated to Palestine in 1211, and Serachja b. Isaac Halevi of Gerona, all belonged to the school of Lunel. The latter was noted for his keen intellect and comprehensive learning; his commentary on the Talmud, called "Maor," shows unusual boldness, and opposes the views of Alfasi and other authorities. He died about 1185. Jehuda ibn Tibbon, also a member of the Lunel school, has furnished careful and scholarly translations of many Arabic works, including Bachja's "Choboth Hallebaboth" and Ibn Gebirol's "Middoth-ha-nefesh:" his son Samuel and his grandson Moses continued this useful labour, and translated some of Maimonides's commentaries on the Mishna.

The greatest Talmudic authority in this part of France was Abraham b. David of Beaucaire, son-in-law of the above-mentioned Abraham b. Isaac, author of many Talmudic works, and well known for his violent opposition to the "Mishneh Torah" of Maimonides, and his still more vehement attacks on Serachja Halevi. He died in 1198. Prosperous and more or less cultivated and learned congregations also flourished in Montpellier, Toulouse, and Marseilles.

85. The Family of the Kimchis, 1160-1230.

The family of the Kimchis (of Spanish origin) occupied a high position among the Jews of Provence. *Joseph b. Isaac Kimchi* of Narbonne composed a

polemic against Christianity and translated "Choboth Hallebaboth;" his other works are either wholly lost or have not yet been published. His eldest son Moses wrote a commentary on the Proverbs, Ezra, and Nehemiah, which was published under the name of "Abraham-ibn-Esra," and a Hebrew grammar of some value. The younger brother David is still more celebrated both as a grammarian and a lexicographer. His Bible commentaries also take a polemical turn, especially when treating of the Christian interpretations of messianic passages. He was already far advanced in years in 1232, when he took an active part in the controversy about the works of Maimonides. The chief opponents of the latter were Jehuda ibn Alfakar and Meyer b. Todras Halevi, both of Toledo, the latter of whom had in his youth already sent an epistle against Maimonides to the congregation of Lunel. Still more violent were Solomon b. Abraham of Montpellier, and his disciple Jonah b. Gerona, who actually pronounced the sentence of excommunication on everybody who studied the philosophical works of Maimonides, or in fact occupied himself in any way with secular sciences. The highly educated congregations in Lunel, Béziers, and Narbonne, rebelled against this, and excommunicated Solomon b. Abraham and his adherents, and the controversy soon spread over Castile and Catalonia. David Kimchi himself undertook a journey to Spain in order to induce the congregations there to unite against the enemies of

science, but without result. Then, unhappily, Solomon and Jonah took the ill-advised step of calling in the help of the Dominicans, who were at that time acting as inquisitors against the Albigenses in Provence, and the writings of Maimonides were publicly burned in Montpellier, and, it is said, also in Paris. This caused universal indignation—the more cultured opponents of Maimonides were silent. Abraham b. Chisdai of Barcelona, himself a philosophic writer, expressed this feeling in an epistle addressed to the Spanish congregations.

The poet Jehuda b. Salomo Alcharisi (1170-1230) of Toledo also belongs to this period. He travelled in the south of France, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Persia; his principal poem, "Sefer Tachkemoni," treats of his travels and adventures, and also, following the Arabic fashion, introduces many other subjects, on all of which he touches with admirable wit, spirit, and fluency. He also turned his attention to more serious subjects, and translated some of Maimonides's Arabic works.

86. Moses b. Nachman (Nachmanides).

Amongst the first authorities of Northern Spain is to be reckoned Moses b. Nachman (Nachmanides), a man of penetrating intellect and great Talmudic learning, combined with mildness of disposition and unaffected piety. He was an intelligent commentator of the Pentateuch, but was not entirely free from an inclination to the mysticism which had then already found many secret adherents in Provence. Although

unable entirely to accept the opinions of Maimonides, he did not join in the entire condemnation of scientific studies, and endeavoured to bring about a compromise. He addressed a long epistle (Iggereth) to the French rabbis, and a shorter one to those of Spain, exhorting them to consider the matter with calmness and deliberation, and not to decide until both sides had been heard. His commentary on the Pentateuch is of considerable value; he has also composed a series of expositions of Talmudic law, called "Chadushim," and a work on the customs and ordinances to be observed in death, called "Toratha-Adam," besides treatises in defence of the author of "Halachoth Gedoloth" and of Alfasi, also a sermon and conference with a Dominican (§ 87).

87. Nachmanides's Conference.

Meanwhile it appeared fully time for the Jews to suspend all disputes among themselves, in order to defend their life and faith against the foe. The oppressive laws of the Popes, especially the fanatical Innocent III. (1198-1216), did not fail to press heavily on the Jews. Again and again they were prohibited from taking interest or occupying any offices of state, and the taxes to the clergy, as well as the distinctive dress and many other measures, were strictly enforced. Nor were they any better off in the north of Spain and the Balearic Isles, which had been conquered from the Moslems in the thirteenth century. The aged king of Aragon, James I., was completely under the influence of the

Dominicans, and their superior Raimund da Pennaforte, filled with zeal for the Church of Rome, caused Nachmanides to be summoned to Barcelona to hold a public disputation with the apostate Pablo (1263). It lasted four days, and its only result was of course to increase the fanatical attempts at conversion of the Jews. Nachmanides himself left Spain and emigrated to Palestine (1267), the melancholy state of which filled him with grief. There he remained for the rest of his life. Alfonso X. of Castile (1252-1284), however, afforded a striking contrast to James I., and proved a powerful and beneficent patron of the Jews; Jewish soldiers assisted him at the conquest of Seville. Don Meyer di Malea was his minister of finance; Jehuda b. Moses Cohen his physician; Don Zag ibn Said drew up the astronomical tables which were called after Alfonso.

88. Salomo ibn Adrath.

The most distinguished of the numerous scholars of Nachmanides was Salomo b. Abraham ibn Adrath, rabbi of Barcelona (died 1310), known also by the name of Rashba. Next to Maimonides and Alfasi, he is the highest rabbinical authority of the Middle Ages. The number of decisions given by him on all points of Talmudic law can only be counted by thousands, and there is scarcely a country inhabited by Jews to which some of them have not been addressed. At his instigation a great portion of Maimonides' commentary on the Mishna was translated from Arabic into Hebrew. Though not, strictly

speaking, philosophically inclined, he was no enemy to science, and gave no encouragement to mysticism ; he decidedly opposed the enthusiast Abraham in Sicily, who gave himself out as the Messiah, and caused much excitement in Italy and Spain. An anti-Jewish treatise "*Pugio fidei*," by a Dominican, Raimund Martin by name, was perhaps what induced Adrath to undertake to explain the Hagada from a rational point of view,—only a portion of this work is known. He also wrote a treatise against a Moslem who accused the Jews of falsifying the Bible. Among his other works we may mention: "*Torath Habbait*" (domestic regulations from the Talmud), "*Chadushim*" (explanations of Talmudic law), "*Iggereth*" (letters), and opinions delivered at lesser or greater length.

89. The Opponents and Allies of Science.

Till the commencement of the fourteenth century, Provence numbered many cultured and learned Jews. Jacob (b. Abba Mari) Anatoli, son-in-law of Samuel ibn Tibbon, a native of Provence, settled in Naples, where he received an annual sum from the Emperor Frederick II., and produced translations of Arabic works ; his half philosophic, half allegoric lectures on the Pentateuch have been collected by him under the title of "*Mamad ha-Talmidim*." His younger contemporary Jacob b. Machir was a physician, an astronomer, and a philosopher ; Menachem b. Salomo Meiri of Perpignan was distinguished in his Talmudic studies by methodic treatment, clearness, and scientific comprehension.

The broader and more liberal interpretation of Bible history and religious precepts was represented in Provence by Levi b. Abraham ; in Spain by Isaac Albalag, whom later writers have unhesitatingly pronounced a heretic, and by the learned Shemtob b. Joseph Palkera, who has commented the " Mekor Chajim " of Ibn Gebirol. In opposition to the more rationalistic views of this school stood other writers, who, without being absolutely hostile to science, yet foresaw the consequences to which the theories of Maimonides on the reasons of the Scripture commandments and the allegorical interpretation of Bible narratives must lead. They saw, with alarm and dismay, how the Bible narrative and the divine commandments were transformed into allegories and philosophical categories, and how miracles were reasoned away into natural phenomena.

One of the most zealous of those who endeavoured to avert these supposed dangers was Abba Mari b. Moses b. Joseph Jarchi, a man philosophically educated, but minutely faithful to traditional Judaism. In 1304 he applied to Salomo b. Adrath, and endeavoured to induce him to use the weight of his reputation against the so-called heretics. Salomo consented reluctantly, and only on condition that the congregation of Montpellier should be found willing to join the proposed form of excommunication. But when Salomo's letter to Abba Mari and his follower Todros of Beaucaire, who had been actively engaged in securing a numerous body of adherents, was read

out in Montpellier, a violent opposition to it arose among the more cultured part of the community. At the head of the opposition was Jacob b. Machir. He and his followers addressed a letter to Salomo b. Adrath, in which they protested against the reproach of heresy, and published a declaration in which they excommunicated everybody who spoke insultingly of Maimonides. Jediah b. Abraham Bedarshi Penini, who was noted for his elegant style of composition, produced a lengthy defence of scientific studies generally. The opposition party, however, obtained powerful allies among the Narbonne congregation, and at last Salomo b. Adrath was persuaded to pronounce a solemn form of excommunication against anybody who studied any scientific writings, except those on medicine, under the age of five-and-twenty (July 26, 1306). The form of excommunication was also sent to Germany. The resistance of the scientific party was not broken by these means; but political events took place which put a melancholy end to the controversy. King Philip the Fair issued an edict which compelled every Jew to accept Christianity or to quit France. Their property was confiscated, the edict put into force, and the active intellectual existence of the Jews in Provence was ended at one blow.

Jediah Penini is the author of the much read "Bachinat Olam" (meditation on the world), and of a commentary on the Hagada.

About 1300 Isaac Aboab composed the well-known "Menorath ha Maor," a collection of Hagadoth, treated from ethical and religious points of view.

90. The Zohar.

In opposition to the philosophical tendencies, of which mention has just been made, the Kabalistic school, whose chief home we find in Italy and the south of France, became more and more influential. After the mystical, chiefly anonymous writings mentioned above (§ 69), we find Nachmanides, whose teachers in this subject were Ezra and Asriel, already introducing into his works this secret doctrine, which was distinguished by the name of "Kabala," or ancient tradition, in spite of its being in reality a wholly modern invention. Bachja b. Asher's commentary on the Pentateuch is a mixture of mysticism and rationalism. The Kabalistic system was elaborated and commented on by Todras b. Joseph Halevi Abulasia, nephew of Meyer Halevi (1290), a well-known and much respected man; by Isaac ibn Lativ (1290), who endeavoured to make the Kabala harmonise with philosophy; by the enthusiastic, fantastic Abraham Abulasia, in whose writings the childish toying with combinations and permutations of letters and numbers already plays a considerable part; by Joseph Chiquitilla (1300), author of "Genath Egoz," "Shearey Orah," and "Shearey Zedek" (the latter containing the ten "Sefiroth" or principles which have become the foundation of the whole complicated, unreal system); and by Moses da Leon (1300). The latter is in all probability the author of the book "Zohar," which is represented to be the work of Simon b. Yochai (or Jochai), written

by him under divine inspiration during his thirteen years sojourning in a cave, and now miraculously published. This book, which soon attracted considerable attention, and has exercised an important and by no means satisfactory influence on the development of Judaism, is in the form of a commentary on the Pentateuch; but in reality it contains slightly connected enunciations and doctrines, in which Aristotelian, new Platonic, and allegorical Jewish opinions are so inextricably mingled, that a clear line of thought is by no means easy to discover. Revelations of great mysteries are announced in bombastic language, but are sought for in vain; a want of thought is concealed by mysterious systems and secret doctrines, and the solemnity and mystery of the whole is supposed to be heightened by the book being composed in Aramaic, which, however, the author was unable to write correctly.

Great endeavours were made by the Kabalist Isaac of Acre, who settled in Spain after that city had been taken by the Sultan of Egypt (1291), to discover the real author of the Zohar, but in general it attracted less attention in Spain than in Italy, and afterwards in the East. The excessive reverence paid to it has unfortunately done no little harm to the culture of science among the Jews, and it has introduced a number of superstitious beliefs into the faith and liturgy of Judaism.

The principal parts of the Zohar are the "Raia Mehimna" (faithful shepherd) and the "Midrash ha-neelam" (concealed

treatise); there are, besides, several others of various dates and by unknown authors.

91. Asher b. Jechiel, 1306-1327.

Shortly before the expulsion of the Jews from Provence hostile measures had also been taken against them in Germany, in consequence of which Asher b. Jechiel (called Rosh), a pupil of Meyer of Rothenburg, left Germany and settled in Spain. He was kindly received by Salomo b. Adrath, and became chief rabbi in Toledo, the largest congregation in Spain, numbering 72,000 souls in the thirteenth century. After the death of Salomo b. Adrath, Asher b. Jechiel became the chief rabbinical authority in Spain. To his great learning he united a clear and penetrating intellect, true piety, and earnest philanthropy; but he was a determined foe to philosophy (he thanked God that he had learned nothing of it), and he showed severity and even harshness towards those who transgressed the law. It is, however, evident that he was not hostile to *every* branch of science, as he incited Isaac Israeli (1310) to compose his "Yesod Olam," an excellent work on geometry and the calendar. After the death of Asher (1327), his son Jehuda succeeded him in his office. He died of the plague in 1349, and was again succeeded by his son, who suffered a martyr's death in 1391. Another son of Asher, named Jacob, who, it seems, returned to Germany, was the author of a commentary on the Pentateuch, and of the "*Arbaa Turim*," a grand compendium of ritual and legal

rabbinical prescriptions, which is made additionally important by the fact that Joseph Karo used it as the groundwork of his great code, "Shulchan Aruk" (§ 122).

92. Levi b. Gershom. Josef b. Caspi. Moses Narboni.

Though the hostilities of the clergy threatened the Jews with continual danger, the more so when accusations were brought against them by apostates such as Abner of Burgos (Alphonse) and others, the Christian kings nevertheless found it to their advantage to trust the management of their affairs to Jewish ministers, and the rest of the community enjoyed the protection of their favoured co-religionists. Among these we find Joseph Benvenisto and Samuel ibn Wakar, who were employed by King Alfonso XI. of Castile.

The first half of the fourteenth century passed away tolerably peacefully for the Jews in Spain, with the exception of a popular outbreak against them in the northern provinces in 1328, of which Menachem b. Aaron ibn Serach has given us an account. After the Jews had returned to France by permission of Louis X., Provence again became the seat of Jewish learning. Gershom b. Solomon, author of a work on natural history, was the father of Levi b. Gershom, a bold and keen-minded thinker, whose philosophical work, "Milchamoth Adonai," met with much disapproval among the strictly orthodox; his commentaries on the Pentateuch and other works

are of slight importance. Moses Narboni, a commentator of the "Moreh Nebuchim" has also been censured by the orthodox party, and we may also mention Joseph Caspi of Argentierre, a prolific but unimportant writer. We may further mention Jerucham ben Meshullam of Provence, a Talmudic authority; the celebrated Jomtob b. Abraham of Seville; Vidal of Toledo, author of the "Maggid Mishneh," a commentary on a portion of the "Mishneh Terah;" David Abudarham (1340), who wrote on the ritual and the calendar.

The sufferings which the Jewish communities in the south of France endured at the hands of the fanatical hordes, who began their crusades by murdering Jews, will be alluded to on a subsequent page. At the time of the horrible plague, known as the "black death," which began to devastate Europe about 1348, many Jews in Catalonia and Aragon were falsely accused of having poisoned the wells, and were in consequence murdered by the populace; these persecutions did not, however, reach the height of those taking place in Germany at the same time; the disease itself was as fatal among Jews as among Christians.

93. Samuel Al-Lavi. Nassim b. Reuben.

The sunshine of royal favour once more fell upon the Jews in Spain during the reign of Pedro the Cruel, at whose court Samuel b. Meyer Al-Lavi Abulafia occupied a high position. The splendid synagogue which the latter built in Toledo in 1357 *still* adorns the town, though it is now used as a

church. His riches and power excited the envy of his foes ; he fell into disgrace at court, and died under torture in 1360. The Jewish communities suffered greatly during the civil wars that devastated Castile, and the death of Pedro in 1369 was the signal for their constantly increasing degradation.

The best known Talmudist of that time is Nissim b. Reuben of Gerona, the enlightened commentator of Alfasi and some Talmudic treatises. We may also mention Santob de Carrion, 1350, a poet whose works were written in Spanish, and Samuel Zarza and Joseph b. Eliezer, who both commentated Ibn Ezra's work on the Pentateuch.

94. Chisdai Crescas. Isaac b. Shesheth.

Although Pedro's conqueror and successor, Henry II., did not take vengeance on the Jews, who had adhered to the former, and although he (Henry II.) even had a Jewish statesman, Samuel Abravanel, at his court, their condition was nevertheless becoming more and more critical. The attempts at conversion and the forced controversies became more and more pressing. The Jews in consequence carefully studied the polemical branches of literature as a defence against Christianity. Under the protection of Samuel Abravanel, Menachem ibn Serach wrote his "Tseda-la-Derech," a complete compendium of Jewish theology. But a far greater and more philosophical writer was Chisdai Crescas, whose work "Or Adonai" (the light of the Lord) is a masterpiece of logic. As Talmudists are to be noted, Isaac b. Shesheth,

who officiated as rabbi in Saragossa, Valentia, and Tortosa, and subsequently in the north of Africa, where he died about 1406, and the somewhat younger Simon b. Zemach Duran. At the death of Henry II., who was succeeded by his son Henry III., a child of eleven, the power of the clergy rose to the highest pitch. The populace in Seville, incited by sermons and exhortations to that effect, fell upon the Jews in the town (1391), and a large number were put to death; many accepted Christianity, amongst them Samuel Abravanel, who was henceforth called Juan of Seville. From Seville the butchery spread like an epidemic to Cordova, Burgos, Ascalona, Valencia, Barcelona, Lerida, Gerona, and even to the Balearic Islands. In many congregations not a single Jew was left. Many feigned to adopt Christianity; Simon Duran and Isaac b. Shesheth fled to the north of Africa.

95. The Duran Family in Africa.

The migration of the Jews from Africa to Spain, which began in the eighth century with the rule of the Arabs, was now turning in the contrary direction. Those who escaped from the slaughter in 1391 scattered themselves over the whole of the north coast of Africa. Isaac b. Shesheth was made chief rabbi in Algiers, with judicial authority over all the other congregations. He occupied this post for twenty years. His successor was Simon b. Zemach Duran (died 1444), whose fourteenth work was *written* at the advanced age of seventy-nine. We

may mention his "Tashbez," a collection of Talmudical and Rabbinical dictates, and his "Mazen Aboth," a religious and philosophical work, the second part of which is polemical and directed against Christianity and Moslemism. In various passages of his writings he laments the corrupt morals of his co-religionists, which he attributes to the constantly increasing want of adherence to the faith of their fathers. A similar complaint is made by Solomon Alami in his "Iggereth Musar," written in Portugal in 1415. Solomon b. Simon Duran, who succeeded his father as chief rabbi, was a philosophical and learned writer, and published a polemical disquisition against the apostate Hieronymus de Santa Fé. His sons Zemach and Simon were also well-known Talmudists, and, indeed, descendants of the family of Duran, which counts men like Levi b. Gershon and Nachmanides among its ancestors, continued to distinguish themselves till into the eighteenth century.

96. The New Christians.

The numerous body of converted Jews called "New Christians" were looked upon with suspicion both by Jews and Christians. Many of them sought to allay any doubts as to the sincerity of their conversion by vindictive accusations against their former co-religionists. A certain Paul Burgos (or De Santa Maria), formerly Solomon Levi, especially distinguished himself in this manner. His extensive rabbinical knowledge, and the high ecclesiastical posts to which he was promoted after his conversion to

Christianity, were alike employed by him in his attacks against Jews and Judaism. The cause of Judaism was defended against him, and others like him, by Joshua Lorki, Chisdai Crescas (1395), and Profiat Duran, distinguished as a physician, astronomer, philosopher, and grammarian, who had at one time feigned conversion, but afterwards returned to Judaism.

The humanely-disposed monarch Henry III. was then still alive, and protected the Jews against the practical consequences of these accusations; he appointed his own physician Meyer Alguavez, who translated Aristotle's *Ethics* into Hebrew, to be chief rabbi of all the congregations in Castile. But under his youthful successor John II., for whom his mother and the Infant Ferdinand carried on the government, the clerical party got the upper hand. Old anti-Jewish laws were sought for and put into practice, and at the instigation chiefly of Paul Burgos, Meyer Alguavez was brought to trial and executed.

Among the works of Profiat Duran we may mention—"Maaseh Ephod" (a Hebrew grammar), "Shesheb-ha-Ephod" (an astronomical treatise), a commentary on the "Moreh-nebuchim," a polemical treatise against Christianity entitled "Kelemath-ha-gojim," and a satirical epistle to his friend David Bonet (who had become a Christian), in which, with sparkling irony, he appears to commend his conversion, constantly repeating the title "Al-tehi-ka-abotecha" (Be not like thy fathers).

97. The Polemical Controversy in Tortosa.

The condition of the Jews in Spain became more

and more unhappy, and the laws against them more and more intolerant and degrading. In 1412 they are directed to confine themselves to a particular quarter of the town. The apostate Joshua Lorki (probably identical with the individual mentioned (§ 96) a defender of the Jews), known after his conversion as Hieronymus De Santa Fé, Vincente Ferrer, a wandering Dominican, and Pedro de Luna, who afterwards became Pope Benedict XIII., were ceaselessly active against the Jews. The latter, with the consent of King Ferdinand of Aragon, invited the Jews to be present at a controversy in Tortosa, at which Hieronymus de Santa Fé was to prove from the Talmud that the Messiah had already appeared. The controversy was attended by Vidal Benveniste ben Labi, a well-known poet and physician, Matathiahari, a commentator of Ibn-Ezra, Todros ibn Jachja, the celebrated Joseph Albo, author of the "Ikkarim" (principal truths), in which he reduces Judaism to three articles of faith—the existence of God, revelation, and tribulation—in opposition to Maimonides' well-known thirteen articles, and many other distinguished men. The controversy was divided into no less than sixty-eight sittings, and continued with some interruptions from February 1413 to November 1414. The Pope himself attended the opening; thousands of converted Jews were introduced as hearers, and no method of intimidation left untried. But their object of obtaining a general conversion was not attained. On the other hand, all the most detestable anti-Jewish laws

were brought into full operation, such as distinctive garments, compulsory attendance at sermons, etc., and a war of extermination commenced against the Talmud. Fortunately, Benedict XIII. was deposed at the Council of Constance, and his successor Martin V. was somewhat better disposed towards the Jews. Ferdinand of Aragon, the queen mother, and Vincente Ferrer, died within three years of each other (1416-1419).

The increasing persecution and forced conversions of the Jews were not likely to be accompanied by much intellectual prosperity; as was always the case in times of misfortune, Kabalistic views found exponents and supporters. Shemtob b. Shemtob (died 1430) was one of these; his "Emunoth" (Study of Faith) supported the Kabala, and attacked Maimonides, Ibn-Ezra, Levi b. Gershon, and others. The Kabalist Abraham b. Isaac of Granada is a somewhat earlier writer. Moses Botarel (1409) wrote a commentary on the book "Jetsira," in which he quotes a number of imaginary authors and their works.

Joseph b. Shemtob and Shemtob b. Joseph, son and grandson of Shemtob b. Shemtob, were zealous supporters of Maimonides, whom their father and grandfather had attacked.

98. The Jews in Portugal.

Little is known for certain of the early history of the Jews in Portugal. The founder of the family Jachia, Jachia ibn Jaish, is said to have rendered important services to Count Henry of Portugal

(1076), and one of his descendants, Solomon by name, is reported to have fallen in battle against the Arabs, under Sancho I. (1185-1212). The history of the Jews in Portugal differs little in its general tenor from that of their co-religionists in Spain. Their statesmanlike qualities led the kings to employ them in diplomacy and finance, and they lived at peace with the people in general, except when their riches excited the envy of the latter, or when the clergy became unusually powerful. The reign of Sancho II. (1223-1245) and that of the wise Dionys (1279-1325), who made the chief rabbi Judah his minister of finance, are mentioned as especially prosperous epochs. It was at that time indeed customary for the king himself to appoint one man chief rabbi over the whole of Portugal, and to invest him with almost princely powers; under him were the provincial rabbis in the chief congregations of the seven provinces. At the time of the Spanish persecution (1391) many Jews found a refuge in Portugal. Their last period of prosperity was under the humane and enlightened Alfonso V.

Of writers in Portugal we may mention—David ibn Biliah, philosopher; Joseph Sarco, Kabalist; Judah and Joseph of the Jachia family; Solomon Alami.

99. Isaac Abravanel

Amongst the Spanish Jews who fled into Portugal we find the family of Abravanel, whose ancestors had resided in Seville as early as the twelfth century, and one of whose members, Samuel Abravanel, has already

been mentioned in these pages (§ 94). Like many other families, they traced their descent from the royal house of David. The most celebrated member of this family is Isaac (b. Judah b. Samuel b. Judah b. Joseph b. Judah) Abravanel, who was born in Lisbon, 1437. His varied knowledge, great riches, and wide reputation, gave him a distinguished position, and he was in great favour with Alfonso I., king of Portugal; nor did these honours make him forget his suffering co-religionists, whom he vigorously assisted whenever occasion offered. But when John II. came to the throne, 1481, Abravanel found himself obliged to escape into Spain, having lost his entire fortune. He then began to devote himself once more to his literary labours, but soon received and accepted the offer of the post of minister of finance at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella; he occupied this position for eight years. During this period he wrote a portion of his Bible commentaries and minor religious philosophical works.

Contemporary with Abravanel were Gedaliah b. David, a descendant of the Jachia family, and Isaac Aboab (author of commentaries and sermons), who also had to escape from Portugal.

100. Expulsion of the Jews from Spain, 1492.

The Inquisition, which had been introduced into Spain in 1480, turned its attention in the first place to the immense number of converted Jews (called New Christians), many of whom occupied important offices of state, but the sincerity of whose conversion

constantly doubted. An ever increasing number of victims perished at the stake, and the dungeons were not extensive enough for the thousands who were confined there on the merest suspicion. When, however, after a ten years' war (1481-1491), to which the Jews had to contribute a special tax, Granada, the last stronghold of the Moors, had been taken, and the whole of Spain had thus become Christian, the grand inquisitor Torquemada induced the king to publish a decree on March 31st, 1492, ordering all the Jews in Spain to leave the country within four months' time, on pain of death. Moreover, it was ordered that they should not take away their property in the shape of precious metals, but only in such goods as should be specially permitted. It is impossible to describe the consternation and despair caused by this decree; no means of gaining its revocation were despised. Abravanel sought alike by entreaties and promises to prevail on the king and queen, who had hitherto been favourable to him, but all was in vain. On August 2nd the fast of the 9th day of Ab) the allotted time came to an end, and hundreds of thousands of Jews began their weary pilgrimage to find a new home for themselves and their families; thousands temporarily renounced Christianity in order to be able to select a more convenient time for their emigration. The suffering and misery of those who were driven from their homes in such enormous numbers baffles all description.

To this period belong the Talmudists, Isaac Campanton, Isaac de Leon, Samuel Valensi, Joshua Halevi, and the philosophers, Abraham Bibago (author of "Derech Emunah") and Isaac Arama.

101. Expulsion of the Jews from Portugal, 1497.

While many of the Spanish exiles sought refuge on the coast of Africa, in Italy, and Turkey, a considerable number, under the guidance of Isaac Aboab, appealed to John II. to permit them to settle in Portugal. This was granted them in return for the payment of a large tax, but only for a period of eight months, at the end of which time the unhappy wanderers, their numbers already lessened by hardships and sickness, were compelled to resume their journey. Those who ventured to remain behind were sold as slaves, their children were torn from them and conveyed to the *Isolas Perdidas* (lost islands) to be brought up as Christians.

A slight improvement in the condition of the Jews took place under John II.'s successor, Manuel. At his court lived Abraham Sacuto, who had been professor of astronomy in Salamanca, and was the author of a perpetual almanac of the planetary motions. He retired to Tunis to escape from religious oppression, and there wrote his best known historical work, "Sefer Juchasin" (1505). He died some time before 1515. But after Manuel married the Spanish Infanta (1496), the Portuguese Jews suffered the same fate as those of Spain, and were cruelly expelled from the

country. Many avoided this fate by temporarily adopting Christianity, intending to return to the faith of their fathers at a safer time.

Amongst the Portuguese exiles, besides Abraham Sacuto, were Abraham Saba, Judah Chajut Jehuda, Isaac Karo, the uncle of Joseph Karo, and other learned writers.

102. The Jews remaining in Spain and Portugal.

The condition of the Jews in Spain and Portugal was now—on a much larger scale—similar to that from which the invasion of the Arabs had delivered them (§ 72). Judaism was outlawed; the least suspicion of adherence to its tenets led to the dungeon and the stake. And yet, in spite of the countless victims of religious persecution,—in spite of the ever-present terrors of the Inquisition and its torments,—the memory and love of Judaism still lived for centuries among the descendants of the converts. Some few, more fortunate than the rest, succeeded in evading the watchful eyes of the Inquisition, and escaped to more tolerant countries, such as England, Turkey, and the Netherlands.

The expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Portugal was a terrible blow to Judaism; its intellectual development was retarded for centuries. Although the Spanish literature had passed its most flourishing stage with the end of the twelfth century, the Spanish Jews, at the time of their exile, had reached a higher pitch of cultivation than their co-religionists in any other European country. The century before their

expulsion had produced intellectual results that could lay claim to serious value, and that have in fact spread on all sides the germs of a higher development. In spite of the dangers and difficulties of the last few years, Hebrew printing presses had been established in various towns of Spain (Guadalaxara, Ixar, Zamora) and Portugal (Lisbon, Leiria, Fara).

Judaism has at last slowly recovered from this heavy blow; the Peninsula, so richly endowed by nature, seems now on the other hand to have awakened to the consciousness of the irreparable injury that religious intolerance has inflicted on her during the last four centuries.

As most of the exiles who took refuge in the north of Europe came thither by way of Portugal, they are generally called "Portuguese Jews;" in the East they are known as "Spaniolas;" the Hebrew name for both Spanish and Portuguese Jews is "Sephardim."

103. The Jews in the Byzantine Empire.

Little is known of the Jews in the Byzantine empire during the first centuries of the Middle Ages, except what can be gathered from the Justinian code respecting the social and civic restrictions laid upon them—such as, for instance, that Jewish witnesses were not to be believed when testifying against Christians, etc. The edict issued by Hadrian, forbidding the Jews to enter Jerusalem, was renewed by the Emperor Heraclius (628), not long before Palestine, Syria, and Egypt fell into the hands of the Moslems.

Although numerous Jewish congregations were to be found in the Byzantine empire, there is little trace of intellectual activity; some Midrashim of later date—for instance the one for the Psalms—seem to have originated there. Some rather untrustworthy accounts are given of Karaite settlements in the Crimea. We may mention Jehuda Hadassi (in Constantinople, 1149), whose voluminous work “Eshkol Hakopher” explains the tenets of the Karaites with a controversial bearing upon Rabbinism, and the poet Moses Dari, a skilful imitator of Juda ha-Levi. Besides these, there were Karaite congregations in Egypt, where they were attacked by Maimonides.

In Palestine and the neighbouring countries the Jews suffered greatly from the fanaticism of the crusaders; after the Moslems had resumed their sovereignty in those countries, many learned Jews (1211), amongst whom were Jonathan ha-Cohen, Simson b. Abraham, and Nachmanides, emigrated to Palestine. But their presence did not enable that country to resume its former celebrity for Talmudic learning, and the invasions of the Mongols, who laid Jerusalem in ashes (1260), brought fresh misfortunes on its unhappy inhabitants.

The taking of Constantinople by the Turks, and the influx of Spanish exiles, had a great effect on the politics and literature of the Jews in Eastern Europe (§ 120).

Tanchum of Jerusalem wrote commentaries on the Bible in Arabic.

Aaron b. Joseph in Constantinople (1330) composed the "Sepher ha-Mibchar," and other biblical and grammatical works, and Aaron b. Elijah of Nicomedia the "Ez-Chajim;" both of these writers were Karaites.

104. The Jews in Italy.

Italy already numbered many Jews among her inhabitants, even before the destruction of the Jewish kingdom. Their condition was tolerably prosperous under the Gothic king Theoderic, and they assisted vigorously, though fruitlessly, at the defence of Naples against Belisarius (536). The conquest of Italy by the Byzantine monarch brought the anti-Jewish edicts of Justinian into operation; but the rule of the Longobards and the first Popes gave the Jews a more honourable position in the country. In the south of Italy (which, however, remained a province of the Byzantine empire) they occupied themselves with scientific matters. Sabbathai Donolo of Aversa (930), celebrated as a botanist, physician, and astronomer, wrote an astronomical commentary on the book "Jetsira;" an unknown author continued Josephus's history, mingling it, however, with legends and doubtful traditions; this book, written in Hebrew, is called "Josippon," or the "Hebrew Josephus." The legendary "Sepher ha-Jashar," is of later date and unknown authorship. Bari, Atranto and Lucca are mentioned as centres of Talmudic learning; in the latter town lived the well-known Meshullam b. Kalonymos, a Talmudist, and author of several synagogal hymns,

a descendant and ancestor of the learned family of that name, which subsequently emigrated to Lorraine. The family Mansi belonged to the ancient Roman congregation—one of their descendants was Nathan b. Jechiel, compiler of the celebrated Talmudic lexicon "Aruch" (1100). Solomon Parchon of Salerno (1160), published a Hebrew lexicon, founded on the work of Johah ibn Gannach; he was a friend of Judah-ha-Levi and Abraham b. Ezra.

105. Jewish Men of Learning and Poets in Italy (1300).

The ecclesiastical laws were nowhere less strictly observed than in Italy, where the Papal court and its surroundings were best known. In consequence of this, the condition of the Jews there was fairly satisfactory, and actual persecution was rarer in Italy than in any other country. Cultured princes and sovereigns valued learning and learned men without distinctions of creed. Jacob Anatoli (§ 89) was in the service of Frederic II.; the physician Farragut (Ferradjio b. Salem) translated Arabic works into Latin for Charles of Anjou (1297), and Kalonymos b. Kalonymos of Provence (author of "Iggereth Baale Chajim," "Eben Bochan," "Massechet Purim") undertook similar tasks for Robert of Anjou, king of Naples (1300). The works of Maimonides were carefully studied (as, for instance, by Hillel of Verona, 1275, and Serachja b. Isaac b. Shaltiel, who had come thither from Spain), and the accusation of heresy was not suffered to be applied to that great man. Biblical

studies were also vigorously undertaken. The most celebrated Jewish-Italian poet is Immanuel b. Solomon of Rome (1320). He is the author of a collection of poems, tales, parables, and chants, called "Machberoth Immanuel"—a witty, talented, and elegantly written work, disfigured, however, by ill-timed levity. The latter portion of it, entitled "Paradise and Hell," an imitation of the "Divina Commedia" of Dante (whose friend he is said to have been), is of special interest, and has been translated.

As Talmudists in Italy we may mention Isaiah de Trani (1250), and his grandson of the same name, also Zedekiah b. Abraham, a member of the Mansi family (§ 104). In the beginning of the fourteenth century the book Zohar became known in Italy, and was commented on by Menachem Reccanate.

106. Messer Leon. Joseph Kolon. Elijah b. Medigo.

The newly founded universities of Italy were eagerly attended by Jewish students, and the newly revived classical authors zealously studied. Latin formed an ordinary branch of learning in every educated Jewish family. Moses Rieti (1388) imitated Dante's "Divina Commedia" in his "Mikdash Meath;" he was the first to introduce regular stanzas into Hebrew poetry. Abraham Farissol of Avignon (b. 1451), wrote a geographical work, "Iggereth Archot Olam," in which Columbus is mentioned. He was still living in 1526. Judah b. Jechiel, called Messer Leon, a physician in Mantua (1480), was the author of various grammatical and philosophical

works, and a treatise on Bible rhetoric, which shows a thorough knowledge of the writings of Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian. Isaac Nathan, descended from Provence, composed a Hebrew concordance, "Meir Natib," begun 1437, and concluded 1445.

The broader views of Messer Leon led to differences with the stricter opinions of German rabbis, who had settled in the north of Italy. Joseph Kolon, a Frenchman by birth, who had lived in Hamburg and had been educated by Germans, became rabbi in Mantua, and was a much esteemed Talmudic authority. His disputes with Messer Leon reached such a height that the Duke exiled both from the city. Still more vehement on the subject of Talmudic law was the quarrel between Joseph Kolon and Moses Kapsali in Constantinople (§ 120). Kolon afterwards became rabbi in Pavia. There also lived Jacob Landau, composer of a Halachistic work "Agur." Judah Minz (of Mayence) was rabbi in Padua and teacher of philosophy in the college in that town. He was the rival and adversary of Elias del Medigo, and died, 1508, over a hundred years old. His son and successor Abraham Minz was involved in a controversy with Jacob Pollak (§ 136); his son-in-law and successor Meir Katsenelnbogen of Padua, who died 1555, was the teacher of Samuel Archevolte. His work "Teshuvoth" was contemporary with that of Judah Minz. His son Samuel Judah (d. 1592) is the author of twelve sermons.

Printing came into use among the Jews in Italy

about 1475, principally, it appears, from German sources. The Soncini, a family of printers (called after their native place, the little town of Soncino), who erected printing-presses at Naples, Brescia, Fano, and other places, were originally of German descent.

The island of Candia, forming a part of the Venetian dominions, was much frequented by learned Jews, who had emigrated thither chiefly from Germany. Elijah del Medigo, grandson of the philosopher Elijah Cretensis, was professor of philosophy in Padua, received high honours from the senate, and reckoned among his scholars the celebrated Pico di Mirandola. His clear and comprehensive intellect, well versed in the works of Aristotle and Maimonides, made him a decided adversary of the Kabalistic system, which was then being extensively studied not only by Jews (Jochanan Alemanni) but also among Christians (Pope Sixtus IV). At the instigation of his pupil and countryman, Saul Cohen Ashkenasi, he composed a small but thoughtful treatise, "Bechinat-ha-Dath," on the true principles of religion. He returned to his native land, and died there, 1493, in early manhood.

The earliest printed Hebrew works are—Rashi's "Commentary on the Pentateuch," published in Reggio, 1475, and "Arba Turim" in Pieve di Sacco (a town in the north of Italy) at about the same time. In the course of the fifteenth century Hebrew printing-presses were erected in other Italian towns, viz Bologna, Brescia, Casale, Maggiore, Ferrara, Mantua, Naples, Soncino.

107. The Jews in France and Germany.

Next in historical interest to the Spanish Jews are

those residing in France and Germany. Towards the end of the Middle Ages this interest is concentrated in the German Jews, who were destined to be the intellectual heirs of their Spanish brethren.

During the first centuries of the Christian era the history of the German and French Jews can scarcely be separated from each other, and of the former the only information we possess is respecting the Jews in the west of Germany. The most noteworthy events were the crusades (§§ 111, 112) and the great plague (§ 117) in the middle of the fourteenth century. The uniting of the French provinces into one kingdom was the signal for the expulsion of the Jews, and after this process had been imperfectly carried out several times, it was at last accomplished, and the history of the Jews in that country was at an end (§ 115). The fact of Germany being composed of numerous small states did not indeed protect the Jews from frequent persecutions, but it nevertheless saved them from total expulsion.

The literary labours of the Franco-German Jews showed nothing of the lofty variety of their Spanish co-religionists. Of science they knew little or nothing: their time was entirely occupied with the study of the Talmud. Bible commentaries of the more advanced kind and Hebrew grammatical studies were almost entirely neglected. Their poetry is not without range of thought and loftiness of aim, but it has no graces of style, and is a faithful picture of those unhappy times. On the other hand, the Ger-

man Jews rose above their Spanish and Portuguese co-religionists in the strictness of their morality and their domestic virtues.

108. Merovingians and Carolingians.

Jews had probably settled in France even before the times of the Romans. In the Frankish and Burgundian kingdoms they occupied themselves with commerce and agriculture, nor did they neglect the art of war. It was only after repeated decrees, that a hostile spirit began to spread against the Jews under the Merovingians; they were excluded from offices of state and from the army. Nor were compulsory conversions wanting, especially when King Dagobert (about 630), following the example of the king of the Visigoths, endeavoured to make all the Jews in his kingdom adopt Christianity.

With Charlemagne came brighter times for the Jews in his vast dominions. Like all really great statesmen, he saw the advantages which must accrue to his lands from the intelligence and activity of that nation. He even employed Jewish ambassadors when he found them likely to prove of service to him. It was in his reign, and, it is said, at his instigation, that a learned Jewish family, Meshullam (§ 104), emigrated from Lucca to Mayence; descendants of this family distinguished themselves for many generations. Louis the Pious also extended his protection to the Jews; Christians visited the synagogues, and are said to have taken more interest *in the sermons of the rabbis* than in those of their

700 preachers. Thus, at the end of the tenth century there were already many numerous and important congregations in the larger towns of France (Paris, Orleans, Lyons) and Germany (Cologne, Mayence, Worms, Speyer).

109. Gershom b. Judah.

The clergy became more and more powerful under the feeble rule of the Carlovingians; their false accusations and persecutions destroyed all judicial safety, and the nobles, strong in their lawlessness, paid no attention to the royal authority. We gather from the accusations against the Jews, in which Bishop Agobert of Lyons (830) attained an unenviable notoriety, that Hagadistic writings (§ 69) were not unknown in France. Italy seems to have been the medium of communication between that country and the East, especially the Babylonian Geonim, and it was from Italy that the national studies were transplanted to the west of Europe, where they found an especially congenial home in Lorraine.

One of the oldest Talmudic authorities in the above-mentioned country (besides Kalonymos of Lucca) is R. Jonathan (Judah b. Meir ha-Cohen), about 1000, whose most distinguished scholar was Gershom b. Judah (died 1040), called "Meor-ha-Gola" (the Light of Exile). The latter was born in Metz, but settled in Mayence, where he wrote commentaries on the Talmud, which he himself copied and disseminated. He is specially noted for his "Takanoth" (orders or arrangements), which he drew up for the social guid-

ance of the Jews; the best known of these is one forbidding polygamy among the European Jews. A contemporary of his, Simon b. Isaac b. Abun, is known as a prolific writer of synagogal hymns, in which he, like all his countrymen, takes Eleazer Kalir (§ 69) as his model. Both Simon and Gershom, who also wrote "Selichoth," complain in their poems of the exorbitant taxes and forced conversions; one of the latter cost Gershom his own son.

Some other contemporaries of Gershom were—his brother Machir, who began a Talmudic dictionary, and the synagogal poets, Elijah ha-Zaken, and Joseph b. Samuel Tob Elem.

110. Salomo b. Isaac, called Rashi, 1040-1105.

The most celebrated personage in this epoch is Salomo b. Isaac, called Rashi (incorrectly Jarchi), born in Troyes, 1040, died in Worms, 1105. His teachers were Jacob b. Jakar, Isaac Halevi in Worms, and Isaac b. Judah in Mayence. He was a nephew of Simon b. Isaac (§ 109). Rashi's commentaries on the Bible have not indeed quite freed themselves from the Hagadistic element, but they show a clear healthy mind, and decided leaning to rational interpretations. His commentary on the Talmud is a model of precisior and methodical clearness, and an immense improvement in the study of the Talmud dates from his time. Like most of his contemporaries, he led a simple life, content with slender means and quiet surroundings. all his works show forth the candour and modesty of *his* disposition. He had no sons, but three daughters,

one of whom married Judah b. Nathan, and another Meir b. Samuel: she became the mother of three celebrated sons—Samuel, Isaac, and Jacob (§ 113).

Rashi's commentaries on the Bible have been printed over and over again, and since his time no edition of the Talmud has been published without them. His disciples, in quoting them, call them only "The Commentary."

Among his learned contemporaries we may mention—Eliezer the Great, Simon Kara, and his son, the commentator Joseph Kara, Menachem b. Chelbo, and others. As Talmudists were distinguished—Judah ha-Cohen, Meshullam b. Moses (in Mayence), Solomon b. Samson (in Worms), Simcha of Vitry, not to be mistaken for Simcha of Speyer (§ 113), and others.

111. The First Crusade, 1096.

Towards the end of the eleventh century, the Jews in the Rhine lands suffered a persecution the like of which Germany had not yet seen. The lawless hordes of the Crusaders thought they could begin their expedition in no better way than by plundering and murdering the Jews. The bishops and judicial authorities in the various towns would not or could not protect them. Thus the same terrible fate successively befell the congregations of Mayence, Metz, Treves, Speyer, Worms, Cologne, and many smaller places. The majority of the Jews died for their faith; many killed themselves and their children, set fire to their houses and synagogues and perished in the flames, or threw themselves into the Rhine; only a few feigned conversion to Christianity. The slaughter extended to Regensburg, and even to Prague. Upwards of 12,000 Jews are said to have perished in the months

of May and June 1096. The survivors were placed in a somewhat better position after Henry IV. returned from Italy ; he was on the whole favourably disposed towards them, and, to the great annoyance of the Pope, the feigned converts were allowed to return to Judaism, while some few of their oppressors were brought to judgment.

The revolting cruelties of this persecution are described in the "Selichoth," "Piyutim," and other works of David b. Meshullam, Kalonymos b. Judah, Samuel b. Judah, and others.

112. The Second Crusade, 1146. Persecution in England.

When the Crusaders in Palestine sent home entreaties for further assistance, Louis VII. of France himself took the cross ; Pope Eugene III. remitted the interests on debts due to the Jews, to all those who took part in the holy war. Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter of Clugny preached a similar doctrine, and thus the Jews in France were indeed plundered, but at least escaped with their lives. Their unhappy co-religionists in Germany, however, suffered the same kind of persecution as on the occasion of the first crusade, though it did not reach the same height, as the bishops and other authorities made more endeavours to check it. Arnold, Archbishop of Cologne, even gave the Jews of that town the fortress of Wolkenstein in which to take refuge, and there they made an armed and successful defence. Bernard of Clairvaux himself attempted to stem the torrent of persecution, but with only slight success.

Even after the actual storm was over, the crusades had a very injurious effect on the condition of the Jews. The long absences and deaths of so many great landed proprietors had thrown much of their possessions into the hands of the clergy, whose power and riches had proportionately increased. Their rapidly increasing influence propagated and brought credence to such old fables as the murder of Christian children by Jews, the using their blood for the Passover ceremonies, etc.; in consequence of these accusations such as these, thirty-four men and seventeen women appeared at the stake at Blois on May 26, 1171, and died there singing the prayer "Alenu." Ephraim of Bonn, who gives an account of this event, has preserved the memory of it and other similar cases in "Selichoth," and Jacob Tam (p. 113) set apart the day (Sirvan 20) as a fast. But the increasing numbers of such events soon precluded the possibility of keeping special days for each one. Scarcely twenty years afterwards (1191) upwards of a hundred innocent Jews were burned to death in the community of Braye.

The horrors of persecution soon found their way to England, where hitherto the Jews had been unmolested. The religious intolerance excited by the clergy was strengthened by envy of the riches of some individual Jews. With the accession of Richard Cœur de Lion the persecution began; in London it was against the will of the king. The learned Jacob of Orleans perished, among many others, in the

hands of the mob. Such scenes were repeated in Norwich, York, and other English towns. After manifold sufferings under King John, the Jews were finally banished from England by an edict promulgated by Edward I., 1290.

In Germany the rest of the twelfth century passed away without any further special calamities, but the general condition of the Jews was one of constant petty molestations. They were supposed to be under the special protection and therefore in the special service of their sovereign (to whom they had to pay a poll-tax, as had been the case (§ 43) in the time of the Romans), but this supposed privilege only resulted in reducing them to a half-servile condition. As for the protection extended to the Jews by every prince and potentate, beginning with the emperor himself, such as it was, it only lasted as long as they were able to pay for it ; there was no question of their possessing any judicial rights to ensure the safety of life, liberty, or property. Impecunious emperors sold the right of "keeping Jews" to towns or princes, pledged them as security, gave them away, made use of them as loans, etc. This terrible state of things was of course a gradual process, and it was not until the persecutions towards the middle of the fourteenth century that the Jews themselves became thoroughly aware of their helpless and unprotected condition.

113. The Tosafists.

The sadder the political and social condition of the Jews became, the greater was the admirable zeal

with which they pursued the study of the Talmud. For more than two centuries after the publication of Rashi's commentary a series of highly cultivated and intelligent men devoted themselves to the continuation of his undertaking (as his commentary did not treat of the whole Bible); their works generally bear the modest name of "Tosafoth" (additions). Only a few have written original works. Among the earliest so-called Tosafists were Rashi's already-mentioned sons-in-law and the three sons of one of the latter. One of these, Samuel (called Rashbam), commented his grandfather's Talmudic works, and also some portions of the Bible; another, Jacob (called Tam), was celebrated as a keen thinker and learned Talmudist. He lived in Rameru, wrote a Talmudic work, "Sefer ha-Jashar," carried on a poetical correspondence with Ibn Ezra, and busied himself with grammatical studies. He died June 9, 1171.

Besides these we may mention Eliezer b. Nathan of Mayence, Joseph Porat, Isaac b. Samuel, and many others.

114. Bible Commentators and Moralists.

The incessant study of the Talmud did not preclude that of the Bible, although the want of any scientific knowledge of grammar, the absorption in the Hadadistic writings, and the inclination to the mystical teachings of the Kabala, hindered the progress of Biblical learning. As Biblical exegesists we may mention—Tobias b. Eliezer, author of the "Lekach Tob;" Joseph Bechor Shor; the unknown author of a commentary on Chronicles; the also unknown

author of the work "Gan ;" "Tosafoth" to the Pentateuch, which contains the commentaries of several writers, under the collective title of "Daat Sekenim ;" Chiskiah b. Manoah (1260) ; Isaac ha-Levi b. Judah, and others.

The two last mentioned and several others less known have chiefly devoted themselves to Hagadistic lore and mystical combinations of numbers ("Gematria"), and consequently have left little of any real value.

The polemical side of theology also had its supporters. The "old Nizzachon," in which the so-called Messianic passages in the Bible are explained from a Jewish point of view, dates from the middle of the thirteenth century. As an active champion of Judaism we may mention Nathan Official.

Not less numerous and of greater and more lasting value are the didactic works of this period, of which some take the form of commentaries on the Talmud treatise "Avoth," and some appear as original works. Judah the Pious (son of Samuel the Pious), about 1200, was the composer of the well-known "Sefer Chasidim," which was collected by his disciples, and which contains a number of excellent moral precepts, along with not a little superstition. He also wrote an account of the travels of Petachia, whose wanderings extended over the east of Europe and part of Asia. One of his disciples, Eleazar b. Judah of Worms, whose wife and children were put to death by the crusaders in 1214, was distinguished by his

commentaries on the "Machsor" and "Jetsira," as well as by his original didactic works. He also made no inconsiderable progress in astronomical studies, and was well acquainted with the works of Saadja, Donnolo, and Ibn Ezra.

Moses b. Chisdai, in his treatise "Ketab Tamim," appeared in opposition to Saadja, Ibn Ezra, and Maïmonides, in defence of the literal interpretation of the Bible and the Hagada. Berachja ha-Nakdan of Burgundy was the author of the much read "Mishle Shualim" (fables of the fox). It is curious to find in these times of persecution a Jewish troubadour (1220), Süsskind of Trimberg, who was received as an equal in the circle of professional poets or "Minnesingers," as they were habitually called (from "Minne," German poetic word for love).

115. Persecution in France. Burning the Talmud.

The anti-Jewish decrees of the Pope, already mentioned (§ 87), were carried out with the utmost severity in France and Germany. False accusations and consequent massacres were of daily occurrence, and endangered the existence of entire communities. Nor did the Talmud itself escape hostile attacks. At the instigation of a certain Dominican monk named Henry, and of the apostate Nicholas Dunin, Louis IX. of France arranged a public controversy, in which Jehiel of Paris, Moses Coucy, Judah of Melun, and Samuel b. Salomo took part. In the year 1242 twenty-four carts full of copies of the Talmud and

Talmudic works were, it is said, publicly burned in Paris forty days after the works of Maimonides had suffered the same fate at the instigation of Jonah of Gerona. The study of the Talmud was not, however, totally suppressed; cunning and bribery frequently blinded the eyes of those appointed to search out and destroy its traces. Nor was the attempt successful to exclude Jews from the medical profession, inasmuch as the wish for health proved stronger than obedience to ecclesiastical decrees. The fanatical king, Louis IX., ordered the expulsion of the Jews from France, but the decree was soon rescinded. The covetousness of Philip IV. (in 1306) led him suddenly to expel all the Jews, about 100,000 in number, from his dominions, with a view to seizing their property and confiscating their debts. His son and successor Louis X., however, allowed them to return, though under very unfavourable conditions, and these were again confirmed by Philip V. During the latter's reign in 1320, the Jews in the north of France suffered great persecutions at the hands of lawless hordes, who proposed undertaking a crusade, and, like most of their predecessors, commenced by attacking the Jews. This was called the "Shepherds' persecution," and was soon followed by another in Guyenne, the ostensible cause of which was the false accusation of well-poisoning. The great plague brought its train of persecution to the Jews in France, although their numbers there were but *scanty*. About 1369 their condition somewhat im-

proved ; Matathias b. Joseph founded a Talmudic school in Paris, and was acknowledged as a sort of judicial head of the Jews by Charles V. After the death of Matathias quarrels broke out for the post of chief rabbi, to which his son Jochanan and one of his pupils, Isaiah b. Abba Mari, both laid claim. Chisdai Crescas and Isaac b. Shesheth, who were appointed umpires, decided for Jochanan. In 1394 the Jews were again expelled from France by Charles VI.; this time, however, they were not deprived of their possessions. Jochanan went to Italy. Some few Jews still remained in France ; for instance, in the towns of Avignon and Carpentras, where to this day they have preserved a peculiar ritual differing both from the Spanish and German forms.

Jechiel of Paris afterwards emigrated to Palestine ; he was one of the most celebrated Talmudists of his time. His son-in-law, Isaac of Corbeil (died 1280), was the author of the "Am-mudeh Golah" (613 commandments), which was commentated by Perez b. Elijah (1800).

116. Meir b. Baruch of Rothenberg.

The reign of the Emperor Frederic II. was on the whole favourable to the Jews, as the frequent hostilities between himself and the Pope led him to disregard the anti-Jewish edicts of the latter. In the year 1223 a large rabbinical assemblage was held in Mayence for the purpose of discussing taxes and other subjects connected with the various congregations. It was attended by David b. Kalonymos, Baruch b. Samuel, Simcha of Speyer, Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi, Eliezer b. Judah, and others. A similar smaller

assemblage was held in 1245, and amongst other things it was decreed that the rabbi should have no power to pronounce the sentence of excommunication without the consent of the congregation, nor the latter without the consent of the rabbi.

The greatest rabbinical authority of that time was Meir b. Baruch of Rothenberg on the Tauber, called the "great light," born at Worms, a disciple of Samuel of Falaise and Isaac b. Moses of Vienna. In his youth he lived at Würzburg, afterwards in France, Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Mayence, and subsequently became chief rabbi of the Franco-German Jews. He proposed emigrating to Palestine in company with several other Jewish families, and reached Lombardy in 1286 on his way to the Holy Land. In Lombardy, however, he was taken prisoner by order of the Emperor Rudolph, and conveyed to the fortress of Ensisheim in Alsace. The Jews offered large sums for his ransom, but Meir himself refused to purchase his liberty by such means, so that their oppressors might not adopt it as a new plan of extortion. He died in prison, April 27, 1293, and was buried in Worms fourteen years after his death.

Meir of Rothenberg composed thousands of rabbinical precepts, which have been published in various collections, *Tosafoth* (additions) to the Talmud, commentaries on a portion of the Mishnah, a treatise on funeral ceremonies, etc. His elegy on the Talmud-burning in Paris (§ 115) is to be found in the ritual for the 9th day of Ab.

Among Meir's contemporaries were—Chajim b. Isaiah, *Abigdor ha-Cohen* of Vienna, Hezekiah b. Jacob, and others.

117. The Black Death, 1348-1350.

The history of the German Jews in the fourteenth century is a horribly monotonous series of persecutions and massacres. For instance, the congregations of Bavaria, especially those of Nuremberg and Würzburg, suffered greatly in 1298 at the hands of a ferocious mob from Rottingen, under the leadership of a certain Rindfleisch, the ostensible cause being the stock accusation of an insulted sacrament. Again, during the disorderly reign of Louis the Bavarian, the hordes of the so-called "Armleder" (1336-1337) overran Alsace and Suabia. In Deckendorf all the Jews were suddenly massacred and their goods confiscated (1337).

But all this was only a prelude to the horrible scenes enacted during the fearful pestilence, called "the black death," which spread from Asia over the whole of Europe. With this pestilence, which destroyed, it is said, a quarter of the population of Europe, came the detestable accusation that the Jews had poisoned the wells, at which, nevertheless, they themselves slaked their thirst. From Spain and the south of France this superstition spread to Switzerland and Germany, where it was received and believed with special readiness. The most preposterous fables were started, and found credence. Individual Jews were put to the torture, and the confessions extracted from them by the most horrible torments sent whole congregations to the stake. The populace in Germany was burning with in-

Susslein Cohen of Cologne (1340). Meir Halevi of Vienna decreed (1370) that nobody should exercise the rabbinical functions without being empowered to do so by an already acknowledged rabbi. His contemporaries were—Moses of Zurich, Menachem of Merseburg, Israel of Krems, Samuel of Shlettstedt. Abraham Klausner of Vienna, Salman Stein, and Isaac of Tyrnau, collected synagogal forms and rituals; Jacob Halevi of Mayence was especially active at similar labours. As Talmudists are to be noted—Jacob Weil (1440), in Nuremberg and Erfurth, Israel Bruna in Regensburg, Seligman Oppenheim in Bingen, at whose instigation a rabbinical synod was held in that town (1455), and especially Israel Isserlein, a native of Marburg in Styria (died 1460). His collection of decisions, “*Terumat ha-Deshen*,” was highly esteemed, as also his explanations of Rashi’s commentaries. His school sent forth numerous rabbis to the congregations of Austria, Bohemia, Bavaria, Silesia, etc. As an instance of many-sided learning and cultivation remarkable for the fifteenth century, we may mention Lipman of Muhlhausen, the author of “*Nizzachon*,” a defence of Judaism against Christianity.

To the latter half of the fifteenth century belongs the development of the much-blamed sophistical methods of Talmudical study, which are called “*Pilpul*.” The custom of mentioning the names of martyrs (and subsequently of the dead in general) during divine service on Sabbaths and festivals (*Haskarath Neshamoth*), and the recital of the *Kaddish* by mourners, date from about this time.

119. Summary.

Thus it came to pass in the course of the Middle Ages that the Jews almost everywhere were politically and socially crushed and degraded. They had no country, but in its place ghettos, distinctive garments and taxes, exclusion from trade, agriculture, and offices of state ; their only resources were petty commerce and traffic in money. At the same time, life and property were constantly exposed to the attacks of implacable and covetous foes. They had a natural horror of the Christianity, which showed itself to them only in the stupidity and superstition of the monks, the licentiousness of the clergy, the brutality of the nobles, the intolerance of the middle classes, and the boundless rapacity of their rulers ; they only thought of drawing their own religious restrictions closer and closer. Scientific labours were wholly laid aside ; the morning beams of a new and brighter day were long in reaching the Ghetto. Among the German Jews obsolete forms of German mingled with the Hebrew of everyday life, and together they formed a corrupt jargon called "Jew-German," which long survived the Middle Ages, and became the language of Bible translations and books of ritual. But the national literature, the Talmud, and the Hagada were preserved and cultivated with undying firmness ; in all Jewish communities they were the source from which the Jewish mind received fresh strength and vigour ; they helped the victims to rise intellectually above their oppressors. The

Jew, compelled to observe an outward subservience, inwardly despised his proud oppressors, whom he excelled in intelligence and quickness of apprehension ; where might was held to be right, craft and cunning had to give strength to the weak. And in every congregation there was an inexhaustible spirit of unity and mutual assistance ; nothing but a willing heart for sacrifice and brotherly love could offer resistance to the common foe. The synagogue, while it re-echoed with the harsh sounds of prayers repeated in the uncouth and corrupt dialect of the time, was filled with the spirit of piety and devotion, and domestic life was adorned with the virtues of truth, temperance, and industry ; these formed a dam, against which the waves of religious intolerance dashed themselves in vain, and behind which the germs of a better age lay protected, ready for the time which should bid them ripen and bear fruit.

FIFTH PERIOD.

After the Middle Ages.

120. The Jews in Turkey.

When the Jews were banished from Spain and Portugal, thousands of these homeless wanderers found places of refuge in the European as well as in the Asian provinces of Turkey. They formed separate congregations in nearly all the large towns,

and these congregations retained much of the language and customs of their former home. Trade and commerce flourished in the seaport towns, and the comparatively favourable condition of the Jews there caused a continual influx of fugitives. The congregations in Constantinople, Salonica, and Smyrna were especially numerous.

Literary activity received a great impulse from the number of highly educated Spanish and Portuguese fugitives, although the Talmud and Kabala were the chief subjects of study, to the exclusion of poetry and science. Moses Kapsali (1480) was made chief rabbi over all the Jews in Turkey by Mahomed II., and took his place among the "mufti" in the divan. He is chiefly known by his controversy with Joseph Kolon (§ 106). Elias Misrachi (1520), his somewhat younger contemporary, was known as a Talmudist and mathematician, and also as a commentator of Rashi. An excellent commentary on the latter author was composed by Abraham Bokrath Halevi of Tunis: it is known as the "Sefer-ha-Zikkaron." In Egypt we have to mention Isaac Cohen Sholal (died 1525), chief rabbi (Nagid) of the Jewish community there, also Samuel Serilla, and the celebrated Talmudist David Abi Simra (Radbas); the latter is said to have reached the age of 110 years, and to have spent the last twenty years of his life in Jerusalem and Safed.

121. Don Joseph Nasi.

During the reigns of the early Turkish monarchs,

whose sagacity and courage raised the kingdom to its greatest power, several Jews occupied important posts as physicians, statesmen, and financiers. Selim and Soliman I. employed Joseph and Moses Hamon as their physicians; the latter published the Persian translation of the Pentateuch by Tavus, and in various ways used his wealth and influence for the benefit of his co-religionists. The same may be said of Solomon Nathan Ashkenasi, who acted as a skilful diplomatist on behalf of the Sultan, in his intercourse with the Venetian republic. But the highest dignities were obtained by Don Joseph Nasi, who had been named John Miquez during his feigned temporary adoption of Christianity. His mother-in-law Donna Gracia Mendesia (who also at one time feigned to adopt Christianity), a woman distinguished for her intelligence, cultivated mind, noble nature, and wealth, had been compelled to wander from Antwerp to Venice and Ferrara, whence, after many adventures, she reached Constantinople. There Joseph Nasi married her daughter Reyna, and soon after his wealth and commanding intellect brought him into favour with Soliman and his successor Selim. The latter made him Duke of Naxos, and he was also to have been king of Cyprus, had he succeeded in conquering that island. This, however, he failed to do, nor was he successful in his attempt to rebuild Tiberias, which he had intended to people with Jews. Learned men were always welcome in his castle of Belvedere; his

conversations with them supplied Isaac Onkeneyra with materials for his "Ben Porat Joseph" (Conversations between the Duke and a Christian). Many of his celebrated contemporaries make grateful mention of the help he extended to them ; as, for instance, the learned Talmudist, Joseph ibn Leb, who lived first in Salonica and afterwards in Constantinople ; Moses Almosnino, author of a book of sermons ; Eliezer Ashkenasi, who led a wandering life, and died 1586 ; the lame Isaac Akrish, also a traveller (author of "Kol Mebasser," in which he treats of the ten tribes), and many other writers of lesser note. Joseph Nasi died 1579 ; his widow Reyna had a Hebrew printing-press in Kuru-Tchesme, a suburb of Constantinople, till the end of the sixteenth century.

Many members of the ancient family of Jachia promoted the cause of science and poetry ; the latter was cultivated with success by Judah Sarko, Saadia Longo, and especially Israel Nagara. A work entitled "Shebeth Jehuda," a history of the persecutions which the Jews had suffered, was commenced by Judah ibn Verga, continued by his son Solomon, who had witnessed the expulsion from Spain, and concluded by the latter's son Joseph, who was made rabbi in Adrianople. Amatus Lusitanus, a celebrated physician and botanist, called John Rodriguez on the occasion of his feigning to adopt Christianity, was born at Castelbianca in 1511, studied in Saragossa, lived afterwards in the Netherlands and Italy, and

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finally took up his abode in Salonica, where he publicly returned to Judaism, and where he died in 1562.

122. Joseph Karo.

The greatest Talmudic authority of the sixteenth century is Joseph (b. Ephraim) Karo (1488-1575). When a child, he and his parents were exiled from Spain, and settled at different times in Nicopolis, Adrianople, and Palestine. He was an extremely prolific and learned writer; his best known works are "Beth Josef" (a commentary on the "Turim" of Ben Asher) and the "Shulchan Aruk" (the table arranged), a compendium of rabbinical laws and customs, which is composed on the model of the already mentioned "Turim," and has been universally acknowledged as one of the highest authorities on the subject. He is also the author of a commentary on Maimonides's "Mishneh Torah," a treatise called "Abkat Rochel," etc. It has been justly doubted whether Karo is the author of the Kabbalistic work, "Maggid Mesharim."

The troubles of the times and the disuse of philosophic studies led to the prominence given to the Kabala, and caused the minds of the more fanatical and enthusiastic men to look forward to the advent of the Messiah as to a rapidly approaching event. David Rubeni, who called himself the brother of Joseph, king of the two and a half tribes east of Jordan, travelled through Europe and Asia, spread wonderful reports about the ten

tribes, and had audience of many crowned heads, whom he tried to persuade to undertake the conquest of Palestine. He was accompanied by Solomon Molcho, who had been baptised, but returned to Judaism. Molcho, who also preached the coming of the Messiah, had an audience of the Pope, to whom he endeavoured to prove the truth of Judaism. Charles V. had them both imprisoned; Molcho was burned, and Rubeni sent to Spain, where he died in prison.

The increased number of printing-presses, the large Jewish population in Turkey, and the liberality of the rich, caused an immense increase of literary activity, which did not, however, pass the bounds of Talmudic study. We may mention a few of the best known names. In Salonica, the largest Jewish congregation: Samuel di Medina (Rashdam), 1505-1589; Jacob b. Chabib, and his son Levi; Solomon and Joseph Taytasak; Meyer Arama; Isaac Adarbi; Solomon b. Abraham Cohen; Solomon Levi. In Arta: Benjamin b. Matathia. In Egypt: Bezaleel Ashkenazi and Jacob Castro.

In the seventeenth century we find in Salonica: Joseph ibn Ezra, afterwards rabbi in Sofia; Joseph and David Pardo; and many others. In Brussa: Joseph Ganso. In Smyrna: Solomon Algasi and Chajim Benveniste ("Keneseth ha-Gedolah"). In Haleb: Samuel Laniado. In Egypt: Mordecai Levi, and his son Abraham Levi.

123. The Jews in Palestine.

It had for centuries been considered a meritorious action to undertake a pilgrimage to Palestine at an advanced age in order to die there. With the increasing persecutions of the Jews in Europe, such pilgrimages increased likewise, and filled Palestine with swarms of people, most of them excessively

poor, and all subject to the extortions of the Turkish officials. Jewish communities in other parts of the world considered it their duty to support the poor in the Holy Land, and many of the larger congregations devoted special funds to the purpose. Messengers were sent from Palestine from time to time to collect these sums; but this arrangement (which continues to this day), did not serve to remove the misery of the Jews in Palestine. The number of pilgrims was perpetually increasing, and no attempt was made to cultivate any sort of trade or industry of any kind, as devotional exercises, together with the study of the Talmud and Kabala, entirely occupied their attention. Complaints soon arose concerning the misuse and abuse of these systematic alms, but no improvement in the method of distribution followed.

Jerusalem, where the Jewish population rapidly increased after their exile from Spain, was inhabited in 1488 by the well-known commentator of the Mishna, Obadiah Bertinoro. Several learned men settled in Safed, in the north of Galilee. Thither came Jacob Berab (died 1546), who entered into a controversy with Levi b. Chabib of Salonica; Solomon Serillo, commentator of the Jerusalem Talmud; Moses b. Joseph Trani (died 1580), a contemporary of Joseph Karo, also living in Safed. The study of the Kabala was carried on in Safed by Solomon Alkabiz ("Lecha Dodi") and Moses Cordovero ("Pardes Rimmonim"); similar tendencies are displayed in the writings of Moses Alsheich, the sub-

jects of which are chiefly taken from the prophets and psalms, in those of the Talmudist Moses Galante, Elias de Vidas ("Reshit Chachma"), Eliezer Askari, and the cultivated and intelligent Menachem Lonsano of Italy.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century the study of the Kabala received a fresh impulse from the labours of Isaac Loria (died 1572), and his equally distinguished disciple Chajim Vidal Calabrese. The history of their lives, disguised in a series of fables, was spread abroad by wandering Kabalists like Israel Seruk and others. This was followed by a positive epidemic of trances, visions, and dreams, and the belief in the new doctrine grew, with its mysteries and unintelligible theories. The disastrous consequence of these follies soon showed itself in the neglect of more rational studies (§ 124).

Isaiah Halevi Hurwitz was another well-known settler in Palestine. He was a native of Poland, and had been rabbi in Frankfort and Prague; in 1621 he came to Jerusalem, but was compelled to escape to Safed in 1626. His death probably took place not long afterwards. He is the author of the famous "Shneh-Luchoth-ha-Berith," an encyclopædia of Jewish religious knowledge, in which, starting from the basis of pure morality, he raises a system of ascetic and fantastic opinions calculated to overshadow the whole life of Judaism and to connect every trifling action with religious duties and mystical speculations. Both the ancestors and descendants of Isaiah have

for centuries maintained the fame of the Hurwitz family in Talmudic learning.

The seventeenth century also numbers amongst its men of learning Chiskia de Silva of Leghorn ("Pr Chadash"); Jacob Chagis (born 1621, died 1674) a native of Italy, who settled in Palestine, and his son Moses Chagis, born 1670. The latter led a wandering life, and died at an advanced age in Safed, after having taken part with great interest in the controversies arising in the eighteenth century with respect to Sabbata Zevi (§ 124), whose followers, long after his death, still upheld him as the promised Messiah (§ 134). Chajim Joseph David Asulai, another wandering Talmudist born about 1727 in Leghorn, traversed almost the whole of Europe to collect alms for the poor in the Holy Land. He died in 1807. His histories of rabbinical literature, "Shem-ha-Gedolim" and "Vaad la-Chachamim," contain rich treasures of bibliographical knowledge.

124. Sabbatai Zevi, 1626-1676.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century the life of the Jews in the East, which was generally spent quietly and uneventfully amongst Talmudica and Kabalistic studies, experienced a stir and movement, the tide of which flowed on until near our own times. Sabbatai Zevi of Smyrna was born in 1626. He was extraordinarily gifted, both in mind and body, and from an early age devoted all his energies to the mystic study of the Kabala. Gradually he *became* more and more ascetic in his daily life, and

as early as 1648 he announced himself as the Messiah to his friends and followers. He was excommunicated by the rabbinate of Smyrna (to which his teacher Joseph Iskaffa belonged), and was compelled to leave the city in 1651. After wandering hither and thither for some time, he found support and followers in Cairo. While there he heard of and sent for a certain girl named Sarah, of Jewish descent, who had escaped from a convent where she was being educated, and was leading a wandering kind of life. A pseudo-prophet, Nathan of Gaza, then announced that he had had visions in which Sabbatai had been proclaimed as the Messiah, and the messianic fervour of the credulous people soon rose to such a height that in Smyrna (whither Sabbatai had returned in triumph) the community turned against his opponent, the rabbi Aaron Lapapa, and compelled him to leave the city. The belief in the so-called Messiah spread rapidly to the congregations of Asia Minor, Turkey, and Italy; in several places fanatical visionaries appeared, who proclaimed the approaching messianic age, and the voices of individual sober-minded men, such as Jacob Sasportas of Amsterdam, were lost in the crowd. Everywhere preparations were made for the journey to Palestine, which was to be once more in possession of the Jews. In 1666 Sabbatai, who received almost divine honours from his disciples, betook himself to Constantinople, but there he was taken prisoner and conveyed to the castle of Abydos on the Dardanelles. In spite of his

imprisonment, however, the number of his followers continued to increase; the report of his miracle-working powers spread through Europe, and impressed even Christians. Sabbatai himself led a life of princely splendour in his so-called captivity, until the Turkish government became alarmed at the possible results of this fanaticism. Sabbatai was sent for to Constantinople, where he was introduced into the Sultan's presence, became converted to Moslemism, under the name of Mehemed Effendi, and was appointed doorkeeper (Kapidschi Basha). A portion of his disciples followed his example and became Mahommedans. But only a small number of his followers were thus undeceived; Sabbatai even continued to preach in different places, and to appear sometimes as a Jew and sometimes as a Mahommedan. At last he was exiled to Albania, and died there in solitude in 1676. In spite of this pitiable ending of the supposed Messiah, the fantastic belief in him lasted for a century after his death. Apostles of the new faith, such as Abraham Michael Cardoso (1622-1706) and Nehemiah Chiya Chajon (1650-1738), wandered about from place to place, preached about the new Messiah, and managed here and there to obtain credence even with otherwise sensible men.

125. The Jews in Italy. Abravanel. Elia Levita.

It is a pleasing task to consider the intellectual *activity* of the Jews of the sixteenth century in Italy,

where the Jewish exiles from Spain united with the Greeks who had escaped from Turkey. Their culture and industry soon procured for the Jews both position and influence, and those among them who feigned conversion to Christianity are said to have been found in all the most important secular and ecclesiastical posts. Isaac Abravanel (§ 99) came to Naples in 1493. There he found favour with Ferdinand and his successor Alphonse, accompanied the latter to Sicily when he fled before Charles VIII., travelled thence to Corfu, and afterwards (1496-1503) to Monopolis, where he devoted himself almost exclusively to his studies. In 1503 he accepted a diplomatic mission to Venice, died there in 1508, and was buried at Padua. His eldest son was Judah Leon, physician and philosopher, a friend of the famous Pico della Mirandola, and author of the "Dialoghi di Amore" (dialogues of love), which were translated into several languages; his second son, Joseph, was a physician in Venice and Ferrara, and the third, Samuel (born 1473), was minister of finance at the court of Don Pedro di Toledo, viceroy of Naples; his house in that city was frequented by all the learned men of the time, and his wife Benvenida was so distinguished by her piety, intellect, and benevolence that the viceroy entrusted to her the education of his daughter. Samuel Abravanel died at Ferrara in 1550.

The knowledge of Hebrew, which at this time was eagerly sought after by many Christians (as, for in-

stance, Reuchlin, Pico della Mirandola, Fagius, and others), chiefly in order to study the mysteries of the Kabala, was considerably facilitated by the labours of Elias Levita (ha-Bachur) of Neustadt on the Aisch (born 1465, died 1579), whose Hebrew grammar and dictionary are justly celebrated. On the expulsion of the Jews from his native city he went first to Venice and Padua, and then to Rome, where the cardinal, Egidio di Viterbo, had him to live in his own house for the purpose of learning Hebrew from him—Elias meanwhile taking the opportunity of studying the classics. The greater number of Elias di Levita's works have been translated into Latin. The most celebrated are—"Sefer ha-Bachur" (Hebrew grammar); "Hakarba" (on irregular Hebrew forms); "Tuv-Taam" (on the accents); "Masoreth ha-masoreth" (on the Masora); "Meturgeman" (dictionary for the Targums); "Pirke Eliahu" (a Hebrew grammar in verse); "Tishbi" (explanation of 71 Talmudical expressions), etc. His contemporary Abraham de Balmes composed a Hebrew grammar "Mikneh Abraham," and translated several philosophical works from the Arabic. He died about 1550.

The Italian Jews were specially celebrated physicians, and in spite of all the canonical laws forbidding it, their skill was in great demand even from the popes themselves. Thus we find the learned Jacob Mantino in attendance on Paul III., Bonet Lattes with Alexander VI. and Leo X., and Simon Zarfati with Julius II. Further we may mention

among many others, Obadiah Sfarno, Joseph b. David ibn Jachja, David Vital, and Joseph Jabez, all of whom were learned writers and commentators as well as skilful physicians.

126. The Talmud prohibited.

The increasing numbers of Jews settling in Italy, as well as the study of Hebrew by Christians, naturally encouraged the establishment of Hebrew printing-presses. A specially famous one was opened in Venice in 1516 by Daniel Bomberg of Antwerp. Besides Venice and other cities, mentioned above (§ 106), Hebrew printing-presses were erected in the following Italian towns:—Cremona, Fano, Ferrara, Genoa, Leghorn, Padua, Rimini, Riva di Trento, Rome, Sabionetta, Verona. Bomberg published the first complete edition of the Talmud (1520-1526) and the first rabbinical Bible (1516-1517). Jewish men of great learning—as, for instance, the grammarian Samuel Archevolte, Jochanan Treves, the commentator of the “Machsor,” and others—gave their services as correctors, editors, etc.

But evil times came with the founding of the order of the Jesuits and the introduction of the Inquisition into the Papal states. Popes Julius III., Paul IV., and Pius V., issued the strictest laws for the treatment even of the New Christians, and the severest and harshest edicts against the Jews. While Auto-da-Fé's were being held in the Peninsula, and numbers of converted Jews who had returned to Judaism perished at the stake, the priestly rage in

Italy was at first chiefly directed against Jewish writings. At the denunciations of individual renegades chiefly, the Jews were suddenly deprived of their books, principally the Talmud itself and Talmudic works, and thousands of these volumes were publicly burned. Such bonfires were erected in and after 1553 in Rome, Venice, Ancona, Bologna, Candia, and Cremona.

The printing-presses were closed, even in Venice, where they were not re-opened till 1564, after the Council of Trident had submitted the Talmud to an examination, the result of which was that permission was given to print it, but without the distinctive name. Other writings which had been left in possession of the Jews were submitted to a similar censorship, and any passages that were disapproved of were struck out. Warned by this the Jewish printers and publishers took care themselves to remove any similar passages in subsequent works. Meanwhile oppression continued, and the restrictive laws became more and more severe. Venice was the first (1516) to confine her Jewish inhabitants in a Ghetto, or Jewish quarter of the town. Other cities, such as Rome, Mantua, and Padua, followed her example. Many Jews fled to Turkey and the East. Fortunately, however, the number of small states into which Italy was divided prevented anything like the general persecution that had taken place in the Spanish peninsula.

The troubles of the times brought into existence

two works (besides the "Shebet Jehuda," § 21) relating exclusively to the sufferings of the Jewish nation—(1.) "Emek ha-Bacha," by Joseph ha-Cohen (1496-1575), who was of French extraction, and wrote, besides the "Emek-ha-Bacha," a history of the "Frankish and Turkish Rulers," both in classic Hebrew; (2.) "Consolação as tribulaçoens de Israel" (comfort for the sorrows of Israel), a Portuguese work in conversational form by Samuel Usque of Ferrara (1551).

127. Asarja de Rossi.

With Asarja de Rossi we reach the highest point of scientific activity in Italy. He was born in Mantua about 1511, and died 1578. He lived some time at Sabionetta and Bologna, and then at Ferrara, at which latter place he wrote his great work "Meor Enajim," shortly after the great earthquake of November 17, 1570. "Meor Enajim" contained—(1) A description of the earthquake; (2) A translation of the Aristeas letters (§ 6); (3) A series of critical essays on Philo, on the various Bible translations, on the Hagada, on chronology, etc.; a small volume, entitled "Mazref la-Kesef," formed a supplement to the larger work. Asarja's unusual knowledge of classic and patristic literature, his keen intellect and freedom from prejudices, have produced scientific results which are still valuable, and planted seed destined to bear fruit long after his time. His contemporaries were the three brothers, Moses, David, and Judah Provenzale, and Judah Moscato. Gedaliah ibn

Jachja, Asarja's younger contemporary, son of Joseph (§ 125), is the author of the historical work "Shalsheth-ha-Kabala." His want of critical power, trustworthiness, and scientific knowledge, together with his leaning to astrological superstitions, make his writings contrast forcibly with those of Asarja. Amongst other contemporaries of the latter we may mention David de Pomis, born in Spoleto 1525, author of "Zemach David," a Hebrew, Latin, and Italian lexicon, and of a treatise entitled "De Medica Hebraeo enarratio apologetica;" Abraham Portaleone, born in Mantua 1542, doctor of medicine and of philosophy, author of a well-known and highly valued work on Jewish antiquities, called "Shilteħ Gibborim;" Isaac Leon ibn Zur, in Ancona, of Spanish descent ("Megillath Esther," in which he takes the part of Maimonides against Nachmanides); Deborah Ascarelli (about 1600), who translated Moses Rieti's hymns into Italian verses; Sarah Copia Sullam, also a poetess, distinguished both by great beauty and intellectual gifts.

128. Italy in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.

The Jews in Italy did not, indeed, either in learning or in their social and political position, sink to the depth of their co-religionists in some other parts of Europe, but neither did they at any period rise above the level of mediocrity. They were worst off in the Papal states, but history tells but little of outbreaks of popular fanaticism or general expulsions.

The long list of Talmudic, Kabalistic, and poetical works published at Venice and Leghorn shows not a single name of any special celebrity.

The censorship of the press and general discouragement of intellect did not fail to produce the usual result—hypocrisy and mediocrity. This is very characteristically shown in the writings of Judah Ari da Modena, who was born in Venice in 1571, and died there as rabbi in 1648. He was a most prolific writer, and treated every variety of subject without accomplishing any work of special note. Amongst his writings we may mention a Hebrew lexicon, a system of artificial memory, and a warning against gambling (to which he was himself passionately devoted)—the latter has been translated into Latin and German. His writings against the Kabala (“Ari Nohem”) and the Talmud (“Shaagat Arje”) have only lately been published. His younger colleague Simcha Luzzato is the author of a treatise “Discorso circa il stato degli Ebrei,” etc. Greater efforts, although external circumstances prevented their attaining corresponding results, were made by Joseph Solomon Medigo of Candia, born 1591. He studied medicine in Padua, wrote treatises on mathematics (“Sefer Elim”) and the Kabala (“Nobloth Chochma”), took part with credit in a mathematical controversy with a Mahommedan mathematician in Cairo, was appointed physician to Prince Radziwill at Wilna, lived subsequently at Hambrough, Glückstadt, Amsterdam, Frankfort-on-Maine, and finally at Prague,

where he ended his wandering life in 1655. Like Judah da Modena, his real opinion of the Kabala has only become known in later times by the publication of his "Appeal to a Karaite."

We have also to mention Solomon Norzi of Mantua, whose celebrated masoretic work, "Minchat Shai," was published in 1726, just a century after it was written. Emanuel Aboab of Venice (1625) is the author of "Nomologia," a treatise on the trustworthiness of tradition. Samuel Aboab (born in Hamburg 1610, died 1694) began his career as an author at the age of eleven. In 1650 he became rabbi in Venice, and subsequently he took part in the attacks against the fanatic Sabbatai Zevi and the pseudo prophet Nathan (§ 124); his son Jacob studied natural history and Biblical antiquities. The highly cultivated and poetical Moses Chajim Luzzatto strayed into the mazes of the Kabala, became a visionary, quarrelled with his family and the congregation in Venice (whose rabbis excommunicated him and compelled him to frequent recantations), led an unsettled wandering life, and died in Palestine in 1747 at the age of thirty-nine.

129. The Jews in Poland. Moses Isserles.

The condition of the Jews in Poland at the commencement of the modern era was better than in Germany; as is still the case at the present day, they formed an indispensable element, and represented the middle classes, which in Poland had no existence. *They occupied themselves with agriculture, trade,*

and commerce, acted as agents or tax-collectors, and were not compelled to wear any distinctive mark or dress; the Hebrew books printed there, too, were free from censorship. The rabbis, who were partly appointed by the king, had the civil and, in some cases, also the criminal law in their hands. The most numerous congregations were those of Posen, Cracow, Lublin, and Lemberg. The study of the Talmud rose to a height similar to that which it reached in Lorraine and France during the eleventh and twelfth centuries; nor was science entirely neglected. Salomo Schechna (died 1558), Salomo Luria (died 1573), and Moses Isserles (died 1572), deserve special mention. The latter's explanatory glossary (written especially for the customs and ritual of the Polish-German Jews) to Joseph Karo's "Shulchan Aruch" (the table arranged) is a well-known work. He also wrote a commentary on the "Arbaa Turim," a ritual code ("Torat Chatal"), a philosophic treatise ("Torat ha-Ala"), and notes to Abraham Zacuto's "Juchazin." Schools were opened solely for the study of the Talmud, and soon the highest and most coveted distinction was to be known as a quick-witted well-read Talmudist. Thousands of Talmudists met in the market-places at the great annual fairs, and on these occasions disputations were held, cases of law adjudged, and communal matters of all kinds discussed and settled. From these meetings arose regular synods, which were held in Lublin and Jaroslav, and to which the principal communities of the "four countries" (Little

Poland, Great Poland, Rauss, and Lithuania) sent deputations.

130. The Cossack Persecution under Chelmnicki, 1648-1651.

These comparatively favourable circumstances, which were only disturbed by occasional clerical accusations, or by the hostilities of German settlers, were suddenly ended by the rebellion of the Cossack leader Chelmnicki against the republic of Poland. As early as the spring of 1648, Jewish massacres began east of the Dnieper, and many thousands perished. A still larger number were taken prisoners by the Tartars and sold in Turkey, where their co-religionists ransomed them. During the interregnum of several months which followed the death of King Ladislaus, endless hordes of uncivilised barbarians spread themselves over the provinces of Ukrania, Volhymia, and Podolia; all the inhabitants suffered more or less, but especially the Jews. Whole congregations were extirpated, and the prosperity of the above-named provinces was completely destroyed. These horrors were repeated in the years 1649 and 1651. In 1654 and 1655 Chelmnicki, allied with the Russians, devastated the western provinces and Lithuania, and they were fortunate who managed to escape into Prussia and Germany. The consequence of the total impoverishment and the sufferings of the Polish Jews is seen to the present day in the constant stream of emigrants who for the last two hundred years have taken refuge in Germany and

Holland, carrying with them their peculiar method of Talmud study. Polish rabbis and Talmudists were everywhere made welcome, but their exclusive devotion to the Talmud has not been conducive to the general culture and intellectual development of the Jews.

The day on which these persecutions began (20th of Sivan) is still kept as a fast in Poland.

The celebrated Talmudists and men of learning who fled from Poland during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are too numerous to mention.

131. The Jews in Holland.

After the Netherlands had freed themselves from the Spanish rule, a large number of Portuguese New Christians, led by Jacob Tirado, found their way, after many adventures, to Amsterdam. There they wholly returned to Judaism, and, although at first persecuted as papists, they were enabled to consecrate the first synagogue in Amsterdam in 1598. They were soon followed by increasing numbers of their co-religionists, who had succeeded in escaping the watchful eye of the Inquisition. A second synagogue was built in 1610; other towns opened their gates to the Jews, and Holland soon became for them an asylum of religious freedom. In the beginning of the seventeenth century the Jewish community in Amsterdam possessed as many as 300 houses, with 400 families. Besides the Portuguese congregation, which was distinguished by its prosperity and culture, and took an active part in the growing commerce of

the Netherlands (the kings of Spain and Portugal had Jewish consuls in Amsterdam), there was also a German congregation, of which the Polish fugitives formed a large contingent.

132. Manasseh b. Israel.

Amongst the founders of the community in Amsterdam were—Jacob Israel Belmonte (v. Schoonenberg); Reuel Jeshurun; Joseph Israel Pereira; Isaac de Rocamora; Elijah Montalto (died 1616), physician to Queen Maria de Medici; Abraham Zacuto (died 1631), grandson of the historian of that name; Jacob Uziel, from Africa (died 1320), grammarian, poet, mathematician, and preacher; Abraham (formerly Alonzo) da Herrera (died 1631), a Kabbalist. The first rabbis of the Spanish congregation in Amsterdam were—David Pardo; Saul Levi Morteira, of Venice (died 1600); Isaac b. Mattathia; Aboab da Fonseca, who was born in Portugal in 1606, lived in Amsterdam from 1613 to 1642, then emigrated to Brazil (which the Dutch had taken from Portugal) with 600 families, returned to Amsterdam in 1654, and died there in 1693; Manasseh b. Israel, whose father, Joseph b. Israel, had escaped from the dungeons of the Inquisition. Manasseh (1604–1657) was deeply learned in the Bible and the Talmud, and could both speak and write ten different languages; his wife was a great-granddaughter of Isaac Abravanel. His writings in Spanish, Latin, and Hebrew give proof of his acquaintance with profane literature and *Christian* theology, but are not free from superstitious

and Kabalistic tendencies. Learned Christians, such as Isaak Vossius and Hugo Grotius, desired his friendship, and he had an interview with Queen Christina of Sweden, who understood Hebrew. At this time religious enthusiasts, both among Jews and Christians, in Holland, Germany, France, and England, entertained the idea of a restoration of Israel as a nation, and Manasseh likewise inclined to believe in its approach, especially as a Jewish traveller, Antonio di Montesinos (Aaron Levi), declared on oath that in South America there were living descendants of the tribe of Reuben. Excited by these hopes, and deeply distressed by the frequent Auto-da-fé's which still took place in Portugal, Manasseh applied to the English Parliament for permission for the Jews to settle in England. Cromwell received the appeal favourably, and invited Manasseh himself to come to England to have an interview with him. Manasseh accepted the invitation, and though he did not succeed in obtaining a formal repeal of the edict expelling the Jews, they were nevertheless tacitly permitted to return. At first only a few individuals settled in London, but during the reign of Charles II. their numbers rapidly increased, and a large and flourishing congregation was formed. Its first rabbis were Jacob Sasportas, Jacob Abendana, and David Neto. Manasseh himself did not live to see this result of his endeavours on behalf of his co-religionists: he died on his journey back to Holland in 1657.

The principal works of Manasseh b. Israel are—(1) "El

Conciliador" (the reconciliation of apparent differences or contradictions in the Scriptures), written in Spanish, and translated into Latin and English ; (2) "Nishmath Chajim" (on the immortality of the soul), written in Hebrew ; (3) "Mikve Israel" (on the ten tribes), written in Latin and translated into Dutch, German, and Hebrew ; (4) "Tesoro dos Dinim" (on the ritual), written in Spanish ; (5) "Peni Rabbah," an index to the Midrashim on the Pentateuch ; (6) Treatises on the creation, the resurrection, the destiny of man, human fallibility ; (7) "Vindiciæ Judæorum," written for the purpose of disproving many of the false accusations brought against the Jews, especially that of using Christian blood at their festivals. This latter was written in English, as was also his appeal to Cromwell, entitled, "An humble address to the Lord Protector on behalf of the Jewish Nation." He has also left many other works of less importance.

133. Uriel Acosta and Baruch Spinoza.

While Amsterdam in the seventeenth century became a safe asylum for the Jews who had been fortunate enough to escape from the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisition, all leanings to heresy that chanced to appear in the congregation were severely punished by the Jewish authorities. Melancholy instances of such intolerance, which their own sufferings should have taught the Jews to avoid, are to be found in the lives of two celebrated men—Uriel Acosta and Baruch Spinoza. Uriel Acosta (da Costa) was born in Oporto about 1594 of a "New Christian" family. He was in fact brought up as a Roman Catholic, but like many others he fled to Amsterdam, where he became a convert to Judaism. Unfortunately, however, he disagreed with the rabbinical interpretation of the *Scriptures*, and was thrown into prison for having

published a book in which he denied the immortality of the soul. He recanted at first, but then relapsed into his antagonism to Judaism, was excommunicated, and finally compelled to perform a humiliating public penance and recantation, in consequence of which he is said to have put an end to his own life about 1640.

Baruch Spinoza (d'Espinosa), 1632-1677, the father of modern philosophy, was also of "New Christian" descent, and, like Uriel Acosta, was unable to satisfy the rabbis of Amsterdam. He was likewise excommunicated, and withdrew from Amsterdam to the solitude of a little village, where he supported himself by the work of his hands as a glazier, refusing every offer of assistance. Although completely estranged from Judaism, he was never baptized. His celebrated "*Tractatus theologico-politicus*" (published without his name) was written in 1670. The position he holds in the ranks of European philosophers can scarcely be overrated.

134. Jewish Poets and Men of Learning in Holland.

The great wealth of individual Jews in Amsterdam was of advantage both to charitable institutions and the state. Francisco Melo and Isaac Suasso, for instance, lent William of Orange two millions, without interest, for his expedition against James II. Pinto left several millions to Jewish and Christian charitable institutions. Abraham and Daniel de Pinto founded the congregation in Rotterdam, and appointed David Pardo to the school erected there.

The Portuguese synagogue in Amsterdam was consecrated in 1675, and its members were called upon far and near for every variety of communal labours. They numbered among them many intelligent and highly educated men, mostly of "New Christian" descent. Besides those already named, we may mention—Benjamin (Dionys) Musafia (died 1675), physician and naturalist in Glückstadt, Hamburg, and Amsterdam, author of "*Musaph ha-Aruk*" and "*Secher Rab*;" Jacob Judah Leon Templo, author of "*Tabnit Hechal*," a description of the temple of Solomon; David Cohen de Lara, lexicographer, who was at one time rabbi in Hamburg. Balthazar Arobio, a member of a "New Christian" family, lived for some time as professor of medicine and philosophy at Seville and Toulouse, then fled to Amsterdam, and made open profession of his adherence to Judaism. Jacob Abendana, who was one of the first rabbis of the congregation in London, composed a commentary on the Bible ("*Lechet-Shikcha*"), translated the Mishna and the Kusari into Spanish, and corresponded with many learned Christians. His brother Isaac taught Hebrew at Oxford, and translated the Mishna into Latin. Solomon Oliveira (died 1708) was known as a poet and grammarian.

Many of the "New Christians" chose Spanish, Portuguese, or Latin for their writings, especially for poetry. We may mention—David Ahenatar Melo (a translation of the Psalms); the already-mentioned Isaac Uziel (a Spanish epic—"David");

Jonah Abravanel (a translation of the Psalms); Emanuel Gomez (author of a metrical commentary on the aphorisms of Hippocrates); Enrique Enriquez (lyric, epic, and dramatic poems)—he had been a soldier in the Spanish army, and was burned in effigy in Seville on his returning to Judaism; Daniel Judah, who also had been a soldier, served in the Dutch army after his return to Judaism—he married the poetess Isabella (Rebecca) Conrea, also a “New Christian”—the subject of his writings was cosmography; Thomas de Pinedo; the traveller Pedro Teixeira. Miguel (Daniel) Levi di Barrios, also of New Christian descent, gives an account of these writers in a work entitled “Triumpho di Governo popular.”

The congregation of Amsterdam did not escape the religious disturbances caused by Sabbathai Zevi (§ 124). Moses Chagis (§ 123) and Zevi Ashkenazi, generally called Hacham Zevi, 1655-1718, a well-read and sharp-witted Talmudist, rabbi of the German congregation in Amsterdam, pronounced sentence of excommunication against Chajon (§ 124) one of Zevi's followers. It met with great disapproval, however, and both Hacham Zevi and Moses Chagis were in consequence obliged to leave Amsterdam. The former went to Poland, but found no peace, as Solomon Aylion, rabbi of the Portuguese congregation, declared himself his opponent.

135. The Jews in Germany.

The unhappy condition of the Jews in Germany

(§ 119) was not improved by the great events that heralded and brought about the coming of our modern times ; the darkness of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries shows but few gleams of light. Frederick III. had a Jewish physician, Jacob Loans, whom he ennobled. Joseph Loans (called Jossel Rosheim) was appointed by Maximilian I. to represent the Jews at the German parliament, and was called by his co-religionists "the great mediator or interceder." Although the matter naturally was one of interest to them, the Jews remained passive during the great literary contest for and against the preservation of the Talmud, in which Haagstraaken of Cologne, the apostate Victor v. Karben, and especially the infamous Pfefferkorn, advocated its destruction, and which was decided in favour of the Talmud by the learned Reuchlin. The gradual extension of the Reformation brought no change in the manifold oppressions and annoyances which the Jews had to endure. Accusations of kidnapping and murdering Christian children, of desecrating the sacrament, etc., continued to be brought against them. In Frankfort an assembly of deputies from various sovereigns and cities was held in 1516 for the purpose of taking measures to expel the Jews. Fortunately, however, the meeting was not unanimous. Joachim II., Elector of Brandenburg, had a Jewish physician, named Lippold, whose advice he frequently took in matters of finance as well as of health. After the *death* of the Elector, Lippold, who was hated by the

le, was accused of having poisoned him : a confession was extorted from him by torture ; he was executed, and all the Jews expelled from Brandenburg. The same fate befell them at Frankfort in 1614, when they were banished in consequence of a revolt of the trades' guilds against the town authorities. Twenty years later, however, they were permitted to return, and the leader of the revolt, Vincenz Fettmilch, was executed. The Jews in Worms were harshly treated, but found a protector in the Elector Frederick. The terrible Thirty Years' War affected the Jews neither more nor less than their Christian countrymen.

36. The Jews in Austria. David Ganz.

The Jews in Bohemia were at that time, comparatively speaking, in a tolerably satisfactory condition. The congregation of Prague possessed a new printing-press—established by Gerson Cohen Solomon (Gersonides)—in 1513, earlier than any other German congregation, and this was followed by many others. The most celebrated Talmudists of Prague were—Jacob Polak (died 1530) ; Isaac Marks, Mordecai Gaffa (died 1612) ; and Löwe ben Meir (called the “ great Rabbi Löb ”), who was a noted mathematician as well as a Talmudist—he died 1570. Better known than any of these is David Ganz, born in Westphalia in 1541, died in Prague in 1613). Besides his Talmudical labours he studied history, mathematics, geography, and astronomy, and was personally acquainted with Kepler and Tycho de Brahe.

He is the author of a valuable history of the Jews, "Zemach David," and of a geographical and astronomical work, "Nechmad Ve-naim." Mordecai Meisel (1528-1601) was distinguished alike by his riches and his benevolence: he built the Meisel synagogue, which still bears his name; and on one occasion, when the Ghetto of Prague was burned down in 1590, he presented 10,000 thalers to the impoverished community.

During the Thirty Years' War the Jews enjoyed the protection of the Emperor Ferdinand II. and his successor Ferdinand III., in return for which they were called upon to assist in filling the imperial treasury. The rabbis of Prague at that time were—Isaiah Hurwitz (§ 123), 1614-1621, and his contemporaries, Solomon Ephraim Lentschutz and Lipman Heller, 1627-1630. David Oppenheimer of Worms, rabbi of Prague from 1704 till his death in 1736, founded an important library, which, in consequence of the censorship, he kept in Hanover instead of in Prague. This library, after many adventures, has been incorporated with the celebrated Bodleian library at Oxford. In 1748 an imperial edict was published expelling the Jews from Bohemia; it was, however, rescinded the following year.

Yomtov Lipman Heller (born 1579, died 1654) officiated as rabbi in Vienna, and afterwards in Cracow, where he died. He was a learned Tosafist, and his commentary on the Mishna is distinguished by *its clearness and brilliancy of style*. His life presents

series of vicissitudes of every kind. At the accession of Leopold I. (1670), the Jews were banished from all the Austrian dominions. Some found a home in Brandenburg, where their co-religionists had been re-admitted (§ 137). The rabbi of Vienna, a person Ashkenazi Ulif, a learned Talmudist, became rabbi of Metz, where he died in 1694. But the Jews' contributions to the imperial finances were soon ceased, and a few wealthy individuals were permitted to return: these, as usual, were rapidly followed by their poorer brethren.

137. The Jews in Prussia.

After the expulsion of the Jews from Prussia, mentioned above (§ 135), the Elector Frederick William offered an asylum to some of the exiles from Vienna in 1671. Before this period small Jewish communities had been established in Cleves and Halberstadt, and the politic Elector protected the settlers against the jealousy of the trades' guilds. The congregation in Berlin increased rapidly, and a public synagogue was erected there in 1714. By special command the medical faculty at Frankfort-on-Oder had to permit two Jews (one of them was Tobias Cohen, who died 1729) to study there. Joseph Athias dedicated his translation of the Bible to the "great Elector," in token of gratitude for the protection extended to his co-religionists. The vindictive and malicious anti-Jewish writings of Aaron Targalita and Eisenmenger, whose notorious work *Das entdeckte Judenthum* " (Judaism Revealed) was

twice printed, in spite of the efforts of the Jews to prevent it, had no effect on the favourable disposition of the Government towards them.

In 1750 Frederick the Great published a sort of code, fixing and legalising the position of his Jewish subjects. Certain privileges were granted them, they were placed under the care of the magistrates, and although they had still to pay heavy taxes and were annoyed by many petty restrictions, their lives and property were made secure, and this comparative peace produced a gradual improvement in their general condition.

In Frankfort-on-Oder two editions of the Talmud were published, one in 1699, the other in 1721.

Ephraim Moses Kuh, the first Jewish poet, whose works were written in German instead of the Jewish-German dialect, was born at Breslau in 1731.

138. Condition of the German Jews before Mendelssohn.

It is needless to detail the social and political condition of the Jews in the various German states. The history of each of the numerous communities was only a repetition of petty restrictions and oppressive taxes. Time for self-culture was wholly wanting, for since money alone could purchase toleration, it was necessary to devote all energies to making money in every way permitted by the law. A feeling of exclusiveness was on the increase, and large congregations objected to receiving new members ; many abuses gradually crept in, and general

knowledge, even that of the German language, was at the lowest ebb. The instruction of the young, which was confined to the study of the Talmud, was chiefly in the hands of emigrant Poles, who despised, or pronounced heretical, everything they did not understand. Divine service, though not devoid of inward fervour and piety, was disorderly, and even indecorous in its outward form, and caused the non-Jews to look on the "Juden-schule" (synagogue) with scorn and contempt. The rabbis, mostly of Polish descent, collected round them a circle of Talmud students (Bocherim), who, for the most part, lived entirely on the generosity of their wealthier brethren.

The congregation of Frankfort-on-Maine was especially numerous and important—almost all the learned rabbis of Germany and Poland officiated there at one time or another: for instance, Isaiah Hurwitz (§ 123), his son Sabbatai (died 1660), and his grandson Isaiah (died 1689); Naphtali Cohen, in whose house in 1711 a fire broke out, which destroyed the greater part of the Ghetto; Abraham Broda; Jacob Cohen, 1718-1740, and others. Raphael Levi of Hanover (died 1779) was personally acquainted with Lessing, and was the author of an astronomical handbook, "Techunath-ha-Shemajim." The same subject fills the writings of Jonathan b. Joseph, who died in 1725.

Hamburg contained both a Portuguese and a German congregation. In 1692 Solomon Mirels, one of the exiles from Vienna, officiated as rabbi of

the latter. He was succeeded by his son-in-law Zevi Hirsch Ashkenazi (§ 134), then came Ezekiel Katzenellenbogen ("Keneseth Jecheskel"), and then Jonathan Eybeschütz (born 1690), a man of great intellect and learning. He was accused by Jacob Emden, rabbi of Emden (1698-1776, son of the above-mentioned Zevi Hirsch Ashkenazi) of being a follower of Sabatai Zevi, and this accusation gave rise to voluminous literary controversies, in which nearly all the rabbis of Europe took part. Among Emden's numerous writings, some of which he printed himself, we may mention — "Mitpachat Sefarim" (against the Zohar), and commentaries on "Aboth," "Seder Olam," etc.

Numerous printing-presses were established in the west and south of Germany after the end of the seventeenth century. First in Frankfort-on-Maine, where a valuable edition of the Talmud was published ; then in small places in the neighbourhood, such as Hanau, Offenbach, Homburg, as in Frankfort itself, the law reserved this lucrative trade for the Christians. In the same way printing-presses were transferred from Prague to Wilmersdorf and Salzbach, where an edition of the Talmud appeared. An especially productive establishment was that of Fürth, a town near Nuremberg, where there was a large congregation of Jews who had been banished from the latter place.

Sabbatai b. Joseph, called Sabbatai Bassista, author of the biographical handbook "Sifté Jes-

henim," established a printing-press in Dyrenfurt, near Breslau ; another was opened there towards the end of the eighteenth century by a family named May ; the editions of the Talmud published there are rendered valuable by the notes of Isaiah Berlin (§ 145).

139. Christian Students of Jewish Literature.

After the Middle Ages the Talmud and other rabbinical subjects were frequently studied by Christian men of learning, either for the sake of acquiring knowledge or from motives of hostility towards the Jews. Among these we may mention—Sebastian Munster (died 1552), in Heidelberg and Bâsle ; Mercier (died 1570), in Paris ; Arius Montanus (died 1598), a Spaniard, the translator of Benjamin da Tudela ; Drusius (born 1550), Professor of Oriental Languages in Cambridge. Johann (I.) Buxtorf (born in Westphalia 1564, died in Bâsle 1629) was a voluminous writer on subjects of Jewish learning. He wrote on the Talmud, compiled a Hebrew dictionary, a Hebrew grammar, a Talmudic lexicon, a treatise on synagogal forms, and prepared a rabbinical Bible. His son Johann (II.) Buxtorf (born 1599, died 1664) translated the "Moreh Nebuchim" and the "Khozari," compiled a collection of Hebrew sayings, and finished the concordance his father had commenced. His son Johann (III.) Buxtorf (1645-1714) was, like his father and grandfather, Professor of Hebrew at Bâsle. We may also mention—Edward Pococke, who died

1691; Surenhusius (died 1695), who translated the whole of the Mishna into Latin; Trigland (died 1705), who corresponded with the Karaites; Johann Christian Wolff (died 1739), author of the "*Bibliotheca Hebraea*;" Voringa (died 1739), author of "*De Synagoga vetere*," and many others. After the middle of the eighteenth century, however, a knowledge of Jewish literature became rarer and rarer even among learned Christians, many of whom despised what they did not understand.

SIXTH PERIOD.

From Mendelssohn to the Present Time.

140. Moses Mendelssohn.

For the third time Jewish history connects the name of "Moses" with a fresh development of its spiritual life. Moses Mendelssohn (son of Menachem-Mendel), generally called Moses Dessau by his Jewish contemporaries, was born at Dessau in 1729. His childhood was passed in poverty, but from his earliest years he was led to the study of philosophical writings, besides the usual course of Talmudic learning. The "*Moreh Nebuchim*" by Maimonides, more than any other work, proved a guiding light to his aspiring mind. His incessant intellectual labour in early youth permanently weakened his health and injured the growth of his

spine. At the age of thirteen he made his way to Berlin, whither David Fränkel, the learned rabbi of Dessau, had been transferred the same year. In spite of the most absolute poverty and its consequent sufferings, Mendelssohn's passion for learning encouraged him to remain in Berlin and store his mind with the treasures of knowledge. He learned mathematics from Israel Samoscz, a Polish exile, the elements of Latin from Dr. Kisch, and French and English from Dr. Gumpertz. Better days began for him when the silk manufacturer, Isaac Bernhardt, employed him as tutor to his children, and subsequently gave him a place in his firm as an accountant; being thus freed from the pressure of poverty, he was able to devote himself more and more to his favourite study of philosophy.

An important event in his life was his acquaintance with Lessing, which soon ripened to an intimate friendship. In Lessing's great drama, "Nathan the Wise," he has erected a lasting memorial to his Jewish friend. Other celebrated German authors gradually became intimate with Mendelssohn, such as Nicolai, Reimarus, Haman, Herder, Gleim, Wieland, Jacobi, and Lavater. His writings, which were distinguished by beauty and correctness of style as much as by the largeness of intellect and wisdom displayed in them, caused his reputation as an author to spread far and wide; his amiable disposition, his modesty, and uprightness, won for him the love and esteem of all who knew him. The attempts made

occasionally by his Christian friends to convert him were foiled by his quiet and steadfast adherence to his religion, and he remained through life strictly obedient to the rabbinical precepts in which he had been educated. He received the highest honours from the heads of the synagogue; the chief rabbi Hirschel and his son Saul were among his intimate friends; and a circle of young and old co-religionists listened to the words of their beloved master, and carried away with them the germs of future intellectual fruit. On the 4th of January 1786, Moses Mendelssohn, whose health had never been good, peacefully ended his life.

The Royal Academy of Sciences in Berlin had elected Mendelssohn as a member in 1711, but the king refused to ratify the election.

Only one of Mendelssohn's sons survived him—Joseph (died 1848), father of Alexander (died 1871), head of the bank of Mendelssohn and Co. Mendelssohn's still living descendants have all embraced Christianity.

141. Mendelssohn's Translation of the Pentateuch.

The best known of Mendelssohn's philosophical works is "Phædon; or, the Belief in Immortality," which has its place among the classics of German literature. For the Jews, his translation of the Scriptures and other Hebrew writings are of immense value, especially his careful and intelligent translation of the Pentateuch, which had an influence on German Judaism only to be compared to that of *Luther's* translation of the Bible on German Chris-

tianity. It was by means of this translation that Mendelssohn led his co-religionists to a knowledge of pure German in exchange for the Jewish-German dialect, and opened out for them the riches of German literature. After specimens of the translation and its commentary, under the title of "Alim-li-Terufa" (healing leaves), had appeared at Amsterdam in 1778, the whole work was printed by subscription, to which several crowned heads contributed, and was completed in 1789. The whole of the introduction is by Mendelssohn himself, but only a portion of the commentary (Biur), namely, part of the commentaries on Exodus and Numbers. The rest, and the whole of the other three books, were commentated by the learned grammarian Solomon Dubno (born 1738, died 1815), Hartwig Wessely (§ 142), Aaron Jaroslau, and Herz Homburg (§ 142). The sentence of excommunication pronounced on Mendelssohn's Pentateuch by the rabbis of Prague, Furth, Altona, and other places, had no effect on the success attending it. Mendelssohn also translated the Psalms, and wrote commentaries on the book of Ecclesiastes, and some of the Haphtorahs. As early as 1750 he started a Hebrew periodical called "Kehilloth Musar," but it only existed a short time. His Hebrew commentary on Maimonides's "Milloth Higaion," was not published with his name. We have still to mention "The Ritual Laws of the Jews" (1778), Menasseh b. Israel's "Deliverance of the Jews" (1782), and "Jerusalem, or, Judaism and

the Power of Religion" (1783); he also contrived articles to the Jewish periodical "Measef" (§ 14).

142. Mendelssohn's Friends and Disciples

The above-mentioned Hartwig Wessely (born in Hamburg in 1725) had, at that time, a very unimpressive knowledge of foreign languages; besides German he understood Dutch, Danish, and French. He was also well read in Jewish literature, and wrote Hebrew both correctly and poetically. In 1774 he entered into partnership with Joseph Veitel in Berlin and made acquaintance with Mendelssohn. The violent exertions of the Emperor Joseph II. on behalf of his Jewish subjects caused Wessely to publish an epistle ("Dibre-shalom-ve-emet"), in which he sought to impress on his co-religionists the necessity of providing better education for the young. This was followed by three similar epistles; all four met with opposition in ultra-orthodox quarters. His last years were embittered by the cares of poverty; he died in 1805. The most important of his numerous works were—"Gan Naul" (a collection of Hebrew synagogal and philosophic studies), "Ruach Chen" (a commentary on "The Wisdom of Solomon"), "Seder Middoth" (ethics), and, above all, his "Shire Tiferet" (an epic poem on the life of Moses).

Since the time of Mendelssohn, the Berlin Jewish community has taken the lead of all other German Jewish congregations. Immediately after his death, his numerous admirers and disciples endeavoured to perpetuate his influence and teaching by translating and con-

tating the remaining books of the Bible, and by diffusing enlightened views on the education of the young, on scientific culture, and on the study of antiquity. Among these we may reckon the following :—David Friedländer (born in Königsberg in 1750, died at Berlin in 1834), who was chiefly instrumental in erecting the “Jewish Free School” in Berlin; Joel Löwe (died 1802), who was subsequently professor at the Jewish school at Breslau; Herz Homburg (born 1749, died 1841), who for some time was tutor in Mendelssohn’s family, and afterwards filled the post of superintendent of all the Jewish schools in the province of Galicia; Aaron Wolffsohn (born 1756, died 1835), who, like Joel Löwe, carried his master’s opinions to his professorship at the Breslau school; Isaac Euchel (1756-1804), who translated the prayer-book; Marcus Herz (1747-1803), who was Mendelssohn’s physician and intimate friend; his wife was the celebrated Henriette Herz, distinguished alike for her beauty and her intellect, in whose house the two Humboldts, Count Bernstorff, Genz, and Börne, were constant guests, and who became converted to Christianity thirty years before her death in 1847, at the age of eighty-three. All the above-mentioned and many others were contributors to the Hebrew paper “Ha-Measaf.” Isaac Satanow (1732-1805) and Solomo Maimon (died 1800) published in “The Oriental Printing-press,” or “Printing-press of the Jewish Free School,” fresh editions of such works as the “Khozari,” “Moreh

Nebuchim," "Sefer ha-Middoth," etc. Salomo Maimon was the author of several philosophical works, and a lively and interesting account of his own varied and adventurous life.

143. Political Changes.

In France, meanwhile, the Revolution of 1789 had put an end at one blow to all the restrictions of the Middle Ages. In 1791 the National Assembly declared all Jews who took the oath of citizenship to be citizens of the state—an example which was followed by Holland in 1796. In 1806 the Emperor Napoleon summoned a meeting of Jewish deputies to Paris, to answer a series of questions; and subsequently the Sanhedrim, composed of seventy-one members, was established, and held its first sitting in 1807, under the presidency of the rabbi David Sinzheim. Among its most important labours was the discussion respecting the code, which still defines and secures their municipal rights and privileges. The complete equality of the French Jews with their fellow-citizens dates from the Revolution of July 1830.

In Italy an edict of King Charles of Naples and Sicily gave the Jews in 1740 the liberty of resettling in that kingdom, with the privileges of unrestricted commerce. Since that time their position there has steadily improved, and they now enjoy absolute equality with their fellow-countrymen.

In Austria the well-known "Toleration Edict" of *the Emperor Joseph II.* in 1782, brought about some

amelioration in the condition of the Austrian Jews ; but it still left much to be desired, which the present century has fully and amply granted.

In Prussia the edict of 1812 gave the Jews equal rights with their fellow-citizens, and empowered them to become teachers in schools and colleges, and to occupy municipal offices. But the long standstill in Prussia's political development prevented the full enactment of this edict, and it was not until 1850 that the code of the 31st of January made the enjoyment of political and social rights independent of religious distinctions. The same year witnessed the downfall of the so-called "Jew laws" in the other parts of Germany, and what still lingered on was swept away when the German Empire was consolidated in 1871. Thus in nearly all the European states the Jews have won not only toleration, but equality ; in Russia a commencement has been made towards the same end, and only the semi-civilised condition of such states as Servia, Roumania, etc., gives rise to persecution against the Jews.¹

144. Inward Changes.

The entrance into the culture of modern Europe led all intelligent and well-meaning Jews to consider seriously the evils that affected the inner life of Judaism, particularly the necessity for reforms in the

¹ Recent events in some parts of Prussia and Russia have shown that this view of the condition of the Jews has been too sanguine, and that persecution has unhappily not yet become a thing of the past.—*Note by the Translator*, 1881.

schools and synagogues. To raise the synagogue from the condition into which it had fallen through centuries of abuses was a task the completion of which remains one of the labours of the present day. It soon, however, became an acknowledged fact that the living word, the synagogal instruction—the sermon in short—must be the centre of the ritualistic reforms. Although at first sight the sermon appeared to be a novelty in the synagogue, it was soon discovered to be, on the contrary, an ancient Jewish institution. German sermons were preached in Dessau (by J. Wolff), in Berlin (by Zunz), in Hamburg (by Gotthold Salomon, 1784), in Leipzig (by Auerbach), in Vienna (by Mannheimer, 1793), and in many other places.

Various other reforms, introduced by some communities, caused considerable resistance, and in certain cases (as, for instance, in Hamburg) even led to decided schisms in the congregation. In Prussia the state interfered, took the side of those who considered any changes un-Jewish, closed a private synagogue in Berlin in 1815, prohibited the introduction of singing and preaching in the great synagogue, and acted in a similar manner towards other large congregations. Such interference could not but have a most prejudicial effect on the development of the life of the community. Many highly cultivated men, whose education had already estranged them from the then *existing forms* of Judaism, cast aside the spiritual *part of their faith* at the same time as its external

abuses. They felt isolated in the midst of their co-religionists, who still clung to all their old institutions; then, too, now that civil rights had been conceded, their political disabilities seemed to weigh on them more heavily than in the time when both civil and political equality had been denied them; and thus it came to pass that nearly all Mendelssohn's descendants and disciples, as well as such eminent personages as Edward Gans, Louis Börne, Henry Heine, Rachel v. Barnhagen, and others, were entirely estranged from Judaism.

With the commencement of the reign of Frederick William IV., the stream of intellect began to flow afresh, and the Jews recovered their footing in its course. The larger congregations endeavoured to appoint rabbis whose education had kept pace with the requirements of the day, and to further develop their religious institutions on the already existing foundations. The numerous important changes that were made in almost all communal institutions, could not take place without much excitement and indignation, that in some congregations resulted in actual schisms; nor could they be accomplished without many errors and false steps, owing to the interference of uncalled for intruders; and the assemblies of rabbis and synods, which were frequently held after 1844, and then again after 1868, produced no very great results. The withdrawal of outward restrictions and disabilities, and the admission into every form of modern culture, weakened the feeling of con-

gregational attachment and unity. In fact, it is not too much to say that indifference towards religious interests, and ignorance of the value of religion, form the dark side of a period, which appears destined at last to win for Judaism its due acknowledgment and appreciation.

Another very unfortunate circumstance is the spread of the so-called "Chassidism" among the Jews of Poland, Galicia, and Russia. This tendency, connected with the teachings of the Kabala, and supposed to originate with "Israel Baal Shem," is not only hostile to the Talmud, but to every kind of intellectual progress; while, on the other hand, it encourages superstition and many other un-Jewish views. The belief in the prophetic gift and miraculous powers of some rabbi or "Zaddik" brings thousands of sufferers and large sums of money to the supposed miracle-worker. Greed of gain on the one hand and blind superstition on the other constantly increase the evil, against which the energy of Elias Wilna (§ 130), and, in later times, the satire of Isaac Irter, have vigorously exerted themselves.

145. Jewish Schools and Teachers.

For fully half a century after the death of Mendelssohn the study of the Talmud was carried on with undiminished energy, though in a gradually narrowing circle. We may mention the names of Isaiah Berlin, Joseph Teomim, Solomon Cohen, Jacob Lissa, Mordecai Benet, Akiba Eger, Moses

Sofer, and Wolf Hamburger, of whom the first died in 1799 and the last in 1850.

The establishment of schools or colleges, conducted on modern principles, for the education of the rabbis soon became an obvious necessity. Of these seminaries the most important are—the Jewish-Theological Seminary in Breslau, which was established in 1854 under the direction first of Dr. Zacharias Frankel, and now of Dr. Lazarus; the High School for the Knowledge of Judaism in Berlin, established in May 1872; the “orthodox” rabbinical seminary in Berlin; and the rabbinical school in Buda-pesth, established in 1877.

With regard to the improvements in the education of the young, the name of Israel Jacobson, President of the Westphalian Consistorium (born 1768, died in Berlin 1823), deserves honourable mention. He founded an educational establishment for Jews and Christians at Seesen, near Brunswick, which flourishes at the present day; his brother-in-law Isaac Herz Samson, founded a similar institution in Wolfenbittel, among the pupils of which were the celebrated Jost and Zunz. In Dessau we find the “Francis School,” which was specially patronised by the Duke, and in Frankfort-on-Maine the “Philanthropin,” which has now become a Jewish college, under the mastership of Dr. Bärwald. The free school in Berlin was converted into a congregational school, of which Zunz was the first master. The want of proper teachers was first supplied by Dr. Veit (1808-1864),

who founded a training school for them, which existed from 1840 till 1852, under the mastership of Dr. Zunz. It was afterwards reopened by the renewed exertions of Dr. Veit and his friend Dr. M. Sachs, and placed under the direction of the rector, A. Horwitz, who is also superintendent of the reorganised boys' school. Training schools for teachers were also established in various places (Hanover, Münster, Düsseldorf, Cassel), and most congregations have endeavoured to found and support schools both for the secular and religious education of the young of the community.

146. S. J. Rappaport. L. Zunz.

A scientific and exhaustive study of Jewish antiquities has contributed not a little to consolidate the inner consciousness of Judaism, and to answer many doubts and questions of the last half century. As founders of this study we may mention—Salomo Judah Rappaport and Leopold Zunz. Rappaport (born 1790) was rabbi in Tarnopol, and subsequently in Prague, where he died in 1867. His vast knowledge of Jewish history, his keen intellect and power of amassing facts, are displayed in his biographies of eminent Jewish writers, such as Saadja Gaon, Rabbenu Nathan, Hai Gaon, and others, which appeared in the periodical entitled "Bikure-ha-Ilim." He also contributed a series of learned articles to another periodical, "Kerem Chemed." He also commenced a Talmudic lexicon, "Erek Millin," of which only one volume has been published. Another

learned but less voluminous writer is N. Krochmal of Brody, 1780-1840.

Leopold Zunz (born at Detmold, 1794) stands unrivalled for his immense knowledge, his critical acumen, and his lofty and comprehensive intellect. Besides numerous smaller treatises and articles in periodicals, etc., Zunz's most important works are—"Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden historisch entwickelt" (the homilies of the Jews treated historically), 1832; "Materials for the History and Literature of the Jews" (1845); "The Synagogal Poetry of the Middle Ages" (1855), which was followed by the "Ritual of the Synagogue" (1859); "History of Synagogal Poetry" (1865). He was editor of the periodical started in 1832 in Berlin by the Society for the Promotion of Culture and Science among the Jews, and also of the translation of the Bible, in which latter undertaking he was assisted by H. Arnheim (1796-1869), Sachs, and J. Fürst. J. M. Jost (1793-1860) was the author of the well-known "History of the Israelites" (in nine volumes, 1820-1828), of a smaller historical work, and of the "History of Judaism" (in three volumes). He was at one time a teacher in Berlin and afterwards in Frankfort-on-Maine.

147. Modern Jewish Literature.

Besides the above-named writers a number of learned men within the last century have contributed to the development and study of Judaism—J. S. Reggio, 1784-1855; Michael Sachs (1808-1864), an eloquent preacher, author of "The Religious Poetry

of the Jews in Spain," "Translation of the *Machsor* and the *Prayerbook*," etc.; Samuel David Luzzatto (1800-1865), professor in Padua, whose extensive acquaintance with Hebrew literature equalled his thorough mastery of the Hebrew language, and whose teaching and influence was felt in the most various directions; Salomo Munk (died in Paris, 1867), a celebrated orientalist, who translated the "*Moreh Nebuchim*," and was the author of several important works on the learning of the past, such as "*Palestine*," "*Notice sur Rabbi Saadia Gaon*," "*Notice sur Aboul-Walid Merwan*," etc., all of which were published at Paris; Joseph Zedner (1804-1871), author of a "*Catalogue of the Hebrew Works in the British Museum*," etc.; J. Fürst (1805-1873), grammarian and lexicographer; Abraham Geiger (1810-1874) was rabbi in Wiesbaden, Breslau, Frankfort, and Berlin, an eloquent preacher, an acute Biblical critic, a frequent contributor to various learned Jewish periodicals, and editor of the "*Scientific Jewish Journal*;" Zacharias Frankel (1801-1875), rabbi in Teplitz and Dresden, and subsequently director of the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau, and editor of and frequent contributor to the "*Journal of the Religious Interests of Judaism*;" Leopold Löw (1811-1875), editor of "*Ben Chananiah*;" F. Lebrecht (1800-1876), an eminent philologist.

Among still living writers we may mention Raphael Kirchheim, born 1804 in Frankfort-on-Maine; J. H. Schorr of Brody, born 1813; Moritz Steinschneider,

born 1813 (Hebrew bibliographer); H. Grätz, born 1817 (author of the well-known "History of the Jews"); Landshuth, born 1817 ("Synagogal Literature"); A. Jellinek in Vienna, born 1820; M. Wiener in Hanover, born 1820; Senior Sachs in Paris; Kayserling, born 1829, and Samuel Cohen, born 1829, both in Buda Pesth.

As the head of the anti-rabbinical movement we may mention S. Holdheim (1806-1860), who was preacher of the Reform Synagogue at Berlin; the orthodox party is represented with equal energy by S. B. Hirsch, now rabbi in Frankfort.

Among those who have treated the development of social life, the modern changes and culture of the Jews from an artistic point of view, we may mention Berthold Auerbach, the well-known novelist, born in 1812 (author of "Gallery of Eminent Israelites," "Spinoza"); L. Kompert of Vienna, born 1822 (author of "Stories of a Ghetto," "The Jews of Bohemia," etc.); A. Bernstein of Berlin, born 1812 (author of "Vögele der Maggid"); L. Franzos (author of "The Jews of Barnow").

A list of the numerous eminent men of the Jewish faith who have won honour for themselves in every department of science and art is now, fortunately, no longer, strictly speaking, to be reckoned as belonging to a history of Jewish literature as distinguished from that of the world in general.

148. Jewish Journalism.

The large number of Jewish newspapers that are

either occupied entirely with the political condition of the Jews (such as, for instance, "The Jew," edited by Gabriel Riesser, 1806-1862), or that treat also of their social, religious, and scientific interests, is a fact of very great importance. The most noteworthy of the Hebrew periodicals are—"Measef" (§ 142), "Bikure-ha-Ittim" (1820-1834), "Kerem Chemed" (1833-1843 and 1854-1856), "Zion" (1840-1841), "Kochbe Itychack" (1845-1856), and others; since which Hebrew political newspapers ("Ha-Maggid," "Carmel," "Ha-Lebanon," "Ha-Lefire," etc.) have been started. Amongst the numerous German papers specially devoted to Jewish matters we may mention the "Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums," edited by L. Philippson, now rabbi in Bonn, which has existed since 1837; the "Present Day" ("Neue Zeit"), edited by Szanto of Vienna; the "Israelite," edited in Mayence by Lehmann; the "Israelitish Weekly Paper;" the "Jewish Press," etc.; the now no longer continued "Israelitish Annals," edited by Jost (1840-1842); and the "Orient," edited by Fürst (1840-1852). Of monthly and quarterly publications there are—"Journal of the Religious Interests of Judaism" (1844-1846); and a monthly periodical for history and literature, first edited in 1851 by Z. Frankel, and since 1869 by H. Grätz. A scientific journal for Jewish theology existed from 1835 to 1848, and another similar periodical from 1862 to 1874, both edited by Abraham Geiger. The chief Jewish papers in France are—"Archives

Israelites " and " L'Univers ; " in England, " The Jewish Chronicle " and the " Jewish World ; " in America, " The Occident," " The Hebrew Leader," and others.

The works of a great number of ancient writers (many hitherto unpublished) have been edited, collated, translated and commented ; special societies have been established to provide funds for the purpose, such as the Literary Union established by Philippson, the " Mekize Nirdamim " established by Silberman and others. During the last ten years fresh editions of the Talmud have been published in various places (Prague, Vienna, Warsaw, Wilna, Berlin), a circumstance which affords a pleasing proof of the energy with which the study of the Talmud is continued.

149. The Jews of Palestine and other non-European Countries.

While the condition of the European Jews has been secured by the laws of their respective countries, —while the numerous congregations in America and Australia enjoy a liberty which has never been the subject of special legislation,—the Jews in the despotically-governed lands of Asia and Africa find themselves in a condition similar to that of their ancestors in the middle ages. Our scanty information respecting the Asiatic Jews has been made somewhat more complete by the accounts of travels by Jacob Saphir, published in 1866 and 1874.

The consciousness of a universal brotherhood among the Jews of all nations has called into existence the " Alliance Israelite " in Paris,¹ which has more

¹ The Anglo-Jewish Association in England has been already spoken of

THE JEWS IN ENGLAND.

1. The Return of the Jews to England.

The successful efforts of Manasseh ben Israel and other Dutch Jews during the Protectorate of Cromwell for the settlement of Jews in England have already been mentioned (§ 132). Not many Jews, however, crossed the water till the Restoration in the year 1660. The first notice of a synagogue dates from 1662. It was fitted up in a small house in King Street, Aldgate. The congregation was a section of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, known as the Sephardim. Large numbers of the Jews of the Peninsula, after their expulsion at the end of the fifteenth century, had migrated to Holland, and it was chiefly Dutch settlers who now sought a home in England.

A history of English Judaism since 1662, like the history of Judaism elsewhere, has two main sides—first, the process of internal development; and secondly, the advance of political and social enfranchisement. A brief outline of these two sides is all that can here be given.

2. The Sephardim.

The Sephardic congregation, after the first settlement about 1660, rapidly increased in numbers and

importance. In 1676 a larger synagogue had to be erected, and a third was built three years later. This was the large building in Bevis Marks, which remains to this day substantially unchanged, and is still used for public worship. The young community was soon able to secure eminent and efficient rabbis for their "Hahamim" or ecclesiastical chiefs. Jacob Abendana and David Nieto (died 1728) were both fine scholars according to the scholarship of that age, and wrote several learned theological works. The establishment of a school soon followed the establishment of a synagogue, according to the well-known anxiety of the Jews to supply good education to the young. No English or secular subjects were, however, taught for some time. In 1730 a school for girls was organised and endowed by Isaac da Costa Villareal, and was called after its founder's name. In 1735 an elementary school, in which some provision was made for instruction in English and secular subjects, was added, chiefly owing to the munificence of Ruez Lamego. For some time, however, the education, both in English and Hebrew, which was provided in the Sephardic schools remained insufficient and unsatisfactory. Various attempts to improve it were made, and in 1821 the existing schools were once more re-organised. The present "Gates of Hope School" for boys was then established, and since that time the standard of efficiency has been steadily raised to keep pace with the educational requirements of the present day.

Early in their English history the Sephardim began to provide for their poor by founding charitable institutions. The Orphan Society was set on foot in 1703, the Hospital (Beth-Holim), which is now situated in Mile End Road, in 1747, and many smaller charities sprang into existence in the course of the eighteenth century.

The internal affairs of the community were chiefly managed by the wardens and the council of elders. The council exercised a very stern despotism over the congregation, and any lapses or neglect of official or religious duties were severely punished. To this cause may partly be ascribed the large number of desertions—some from distinguished families—which the Portuguese Jews sustained during the latter half of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. Since the first half of the eighteenth century the Sephardim have not much increased in numbers. It is even stated that their numbers in 1753 were as great as in 1873. Besides their synagogue in Bevis Marks they have only established one other in London. This is a small building in Bryanston Street, erected for the reception of those of their community who live in the west of London. There is also a Sephardic synagogue in Manchester. The English Sephardim sustained a great loss in the premature death of their last able and eloquent "Haham," Dr. Benjamin Artom, which took place in 1879. No ecclesiastical chief has since been *appointed*.

3. The Ashkenazim.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century a number of German and Polish Jews began to settle in England. They were on a lower level of culture, and, on an average, far less wealthy, than the Sephardim, and were considerably looked down upon by the latter. Intermarriages were very unfrequent, and no ecclesiastical offices beyond the humble post of beadle were allowed to any German or Polish Jews. The latter were consequently anxious to found a separate synagogue where they might conduct religious services according to their own ritual and their own peculiar pronunciation of Hebrew. At the close of the century they had already established a small building for the purpose, which was greatly enlarged in 1722. The present "great synagogue" in Duke's Place was due to a fresh rebuilding, begun in 1763 and completed in 1767. Another synagogue had also been constructed in Hambro' Place in 1726. The first synagogue in the west of London was established in 1797, and since that time many others (at present there are over a dozen) have sprung up in different parts of the Metropolis.

The Ashkenazim (as the German and Polish Jews are called) did not so quickly set about the foundation of schools and charities as the Sephardim had done. Their community increased rapidly in numbers during the eighteenth century, but a large portion of this increase was composed of very poor German and Polish emigrants. These new-comers

only served to swell the difficulties of the congregation, as they were not only exceedingly destitute, but also exceedingly ignorant, and thus rather sunk than raised the tone and position of the body which they joined. The rabbis of the Ashkenazim during the eighteenth century were not as learned or as capable as the ecclesiastical chiefs of the Sephardim. Pulpit instruction was very rare in both congregations till quite a modern date. Owing to the continual disinclination of the best English Jews for the rabbinical office, due probably to the somewhat hampered position of the Jewish clergy, the posts had to be filled up by foreigners. Dr. Solomon Hirschel (died 1842), who was appointed Chief Rabbi of the German community in 1802, and Dr. Meldola (died 1828), appointed Haham of the Portuguese Jews in 1804, were both men of talent, learning, and piety, but they were neither of them masters of the English language. Thus they could not by pulpit exhortations (even had the opportunity for these been at hand) increase the waning attendances at the synagogues, or infuse fresh vigour and life into the services. It is, perhaps, scarcely necessary to add that pulpit discourses now habitually form part of divine service in the majority of the London synagogues.

In the nineteenth century the Ashkenazim began, as far as schools and charities were concerned, to cope with the necessities of the time. The "Jews' Hospital" for the reception and support of aged poor, *and for the education of a limited number of poor*

children, was founded chiefly by Abraham and Benjamin Goldsmid in 1806. The huge "Free School" was established on a large scale in 1815; the large "Infant School" now situated in Commercial Street, Whitechapel, was started in 1841. Other charitable institutions followed on apace, and at present the Ashkenazim community possess an admirably organised system of schools and charities.

4. The Board of Deputies and the Anglo-Jewish Association.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century a body was formed which gave the Jews an opportunity of expressing their wishes and aims in an official manner to the English Government, and which served as a representative link between the Jews of England and those of other countries. This body was the Board of Deputies. In 1760 certain "Deputadas" of the Portuguese community were elected to offer the congratulations of the English Jews to George III. on his accession to the throne, and these deputies soon after became a fixed institution. The meetings of the deputies were at first held only at rare intervals, as some special occasion demanded. But in the early years of the nineteenth century the meetings became more frequent, and in 1812 an important change in the constitution of the Board was made, by which members of the German communities were admitted on wholly equal terms with the Portuguese Jews. Since then the Board has played an important and most useful part in Jewish affairs and

has frequently aided distressed Jews of other countries either by pecuniary support or by representations made to the English Government.

The Anglo-Jewish Association was established in 1871. This institution, being a branch of the "Alliance Israelite Universelle," the headquarters of which are in Paris, has intimate relations with the various Jewish communities over the whole world, and has been able to achieve excellent results in the work of ameliorating the political and educational condition of the Jews in foreign lands.

5. The Reform Movement.

In the first half of the nineteenth century the state of the public services at the synagogues was exceedingly lamentable. There was no attempt to meet the religious requirements of the time ; decorum was ill-maintained, and the services, beginning at inconveniently early hours, were far too long. Pulpit instruction was almost unknown—a spasmodic attempt to institute it among the Sephardim in 1828 soon coming to an untimely end. As a legitimate consequence the attendances grew more and more meagre. More than one inquiry into the matter was set on foot by the Portuguese congregation, but owing to the unyielding temper of the council and the majority of the members, who saw in any proposed improvement an infringement of the letter of the law, these inquiries, and the recommendations resulting from them, invariably came to *nothing*.

It was under these circumstances that the reform movement was begun in 1841. Its supporters were chiefly members of the Sephardim community, but there were also many Ashkenazim, and among them were Sir Isaac L. Goldsmid, and his son Francis H. Goldsmid, who both took a prominent part in the matter. The movement led very shortly to the establishment of a separate Reform Synagogue, which, after two changes of locality, is now situated in Upper Berkeley Street. The chief aims of the secessionists, who called their new building "The West London Synagogue of British Jews," were—to establish a decorous and dignified system of public worship, to simplify and improve the existing liturgy, both by curtailing it and purging it of certain expressions and prayers running counter to the present feelings of all educated Jews, to introduce a regular course of pulpit teaching, to return in many particulars to a more Biblical form of Judaism, and, without breaking the thread of historical continuity, to discountenance a staunch adherence to Talmudical and Rabbinical authority.

Both the orthodox congregations were naturally gravely incensed by this important secession and new departure. Excommunications and solemn warnings from Chief Rabbi and "Beth Din" against any communion or connection "in religious rites or sacred acts" with the seceders were soon forthcoming, and for some time much bitterness of feeling existed on the subject. After a few years, however, this gradu-

ally subsided, and has now vanished altogether. At the present time, while both Sephardim and Ashkenazim have materially reformed their public worship, the Reformers themselves remain in a passive and quiescent condition. Besides their one large synagogue in London, they have also one in Manchester and one in Bradford, but the movement has not spread further in England, and does not at present show many signs of active vitality.

6. The Emancipation of the English Jews.

The Jews of England remained for a long while without political, municipal, or social liberties. They were precluded from securing university education, from practising the liberal professions, and from taking any part in the administration of the capital or the empire. Even in commercial pursuits they were not wholly unfettered, for as late as 1828 only twelve Jewish brokers were allowed in the city of London. The Jews were for some time regarded as resident aliens, not as British subjects belonging to the Jewish faith. In 1723, however, a step in advance was taken. It was then enacted that when "*any one of his Majesty's subjects professing the Jewish religion*" shall present himself to take the oath of abjuration (against the Pretender) he shall be allowed to omit the words "on the true faith of a Christian." In 1753 the important Naturalization Act was passed, by which, though the Jews were still excluded from civil offices, all of them who had resided in England *for three years*, without having been absent for

more than three months at a time, might acquire naturalization. But this liberal measure was much ahead of the spirit of the times, and in the following year a Bill had to be passed by which it was repealed.

In this condition matters stood for many years. It was not till 1828 that the first of the links which made up the chain of Jewish disabilities was broken. It was in that year, as has already been mentioned, that the limitation on the number of Jewish brokers was done away with. In 1832 the Jews were admitted to the freedom of the city of London, so that they could now open retail shops within the city precincts. Meanwhile an agitation had been set on foot to secure a more complete emancipation. In 1830 Mr. Robert Grant brought in a Bill for the "Repeal of the Civil Disabilities of the Jews." This Bill was thrown out by a majority of 163 in a house of 393. Other fruitless attempts were made in subsequent years. In 1839 the "Sheriffs' Declaration Bill" was passed, which enabled Jews to become sheriffs, and Sir David Salomons was the first Jewish sheriff and Lord Mayor. In 1844 the Tory peers allowed a Bill to pass (which they had rejected in 1841) by which the Jews were made eligible for municipal offices. Already in 1833 Mr., afterwards Sir F. H. Goldsmid had been admitted as the first Jewish barrister to the society of Lincoln's Inn.¹

¹ Fifty years later (1883) Sir George Jessel died, having for many years occupied the high position of Master of the Rolls.

Then came the struggle for the admission to Parliament. The Liberal majority in the House of Commons, from the year 1847 onwards, passed continual Bills for the political emancipation of the Jews, but they were as regularly rejected by the Conservative majority in the House of Lords. It was not till 1858 that the question was finally settled, and in that year Baron Lionel de Rothschild took his seat for the city of London as the first Jewish member of the House of Commons. Since that time the universities have opened their doors to the Jews by the repeal of the Test Act in 1871, and the enfranchisement of the Jews in England may now be regarded as complete. They take their part in all the various sides of English life, and without ceasing to adhere to their own religious faith, they are in their aims and interests entirely identified with Englishmen of other creeds. The increase in their numbers has been steady, though not in excess of the other inhabitants of the country. It is estimated that the present Jewish population of Great Britain and Ireland together amounts to about 70,000.

7. Eminent Individuals.

A few words must be added here, so as to mention some of those English Jews who, from one cause or another have won celebrity, and deserve to be remembered. First on the list, in point of time, come the names of eminent Jewish capitalists and financiers.

It is natural that this should be so, since up to a comparatively recent date the restrictive laws compelled the Jews to direct their talents into commercial and financial channels alone, as all other careers were closed against them. Sampson Gideon (died 1763) was one of the most eminent Jewish capitalists of the eighteenth century. He was a friend of Walpole, and his financial operations were conducted on a large scale. Gideon was a member of the Portuguese community, but he gradually withdrew from taking any part in the affairs of the congregation, and eventually resigned his membership. His children were brought up in the Christian faith, but he himself, at his own request, was buried in the Mile End Jewish cemetery. Joseph Salvador was another financial notable during the last century ; he was, however, ruined in his old age. More important than these were the two brothers, Benjamin and Abraham Goldsmid (died 1808 and 1810), who to their skill in the money market united a wide and noble philanthropy. The same may be said of Nathan M. Rothschild (died 1836), the founder of the English branch of that family, and one of the greatest financiers of modern times.


The history of Jewish emancipation in England is connected with the names of several eminent Jews. Sir David Salomons (died 1873), who was elected to Parliament for Greenwich as early as 1851, though he was then unable to take his seat, laboured hard in

this excellent cause, as did also Baron Lionel de Rothschild (died 1879), who, as has been already mentioned, was the first Jew who actually took his seat in the House of Commons in 1858. Sir Francis (then Mr. F. H.) Goldsmid was elected for Reading in 1860. The latter, and his father Sir Isaac L. Goldsmid (died 1859), were for many years among the foremost in the struggle for the removal of Jewish disabilities. Sir Francis Goldsmid was, moreover, able to help the Jews by his pen, and wrote several persuasive pamphlets upon the emancipation question. He sat in Parliament without interruption from 1860 till his death in 1878, and was always ready to plead the cause of distressed or persecuted Jews in other lands, while by his English patriotism, combined as it was with his sincere devotion to Judaism, he won the regards of men of every creed and every political party.

Somewhat apart stands the name of Sir Moses Montefiore. He was born in 1785 and is still living [1883]. The deeds of this great philanthropist are well known to everybody. Damascus, Constantinople, St. Petersburg, Morocco, and Jerusalem, have all on various occasions known his presence; he has always had the same end in view—that of aiding the oppressed Jews in these different places, and this end has always been secured by his personal intervention with the authorities. In this way, apart from his widespread charity at home, he has un-

questionably done a large amount of good to the Jewish population of the world.

English Judaism has not produced any very important contribution to specifically Jewish literature. Isaac Disraeli and his greater son belong to English and not to Jewish literary history. David Levi (born 1742, died 1801) wrote some controversial treatises in defence of Judaism, and translated the liturgy of both the Portuguese and German Jews into English. Michael Josephs (born 1763, died 1849) compiled a useful Hebrew and English lexicon, besides many other occasional pieces. Arthur Lumley Davids, who died prematurely at the age of twenty in 1822, might, had he lived, have produced some lasting literary work. He gave a lecture on the philosophy of the Jews which showed great learning and research, but this was only the blossom of an expected fruit, which had no time to ripen. D. A. de Sola (died 1860), a minister of the Sephardim congregation, achieved a considerable literary reputation. His most important work was a translation (brought out in conjunction with Dr. Raphall) of some of the treatises of the Mishna. E. H. Lindo (died 1865) published in 1848 a useful and conscientious "History of the Jews in Spain and Portugal." A little volume, entitled "A Few Words to the Jews," issued in 1853, and written by Charlotte Montefiore (born 1818, died 1854), should not be passed over in silence even in an out-



line of this kind, because, though slight, it is nevertheless a unique book in Anglo-Jewish literature. For pure and delicate style, deep and noble religious fervour, and, above all, for an unflinching exposure of the materialistic and sordid tendencies of the age, it stands alone: the spirit which inspired its authoress has as yet inspired no successor to her work.

THE END.

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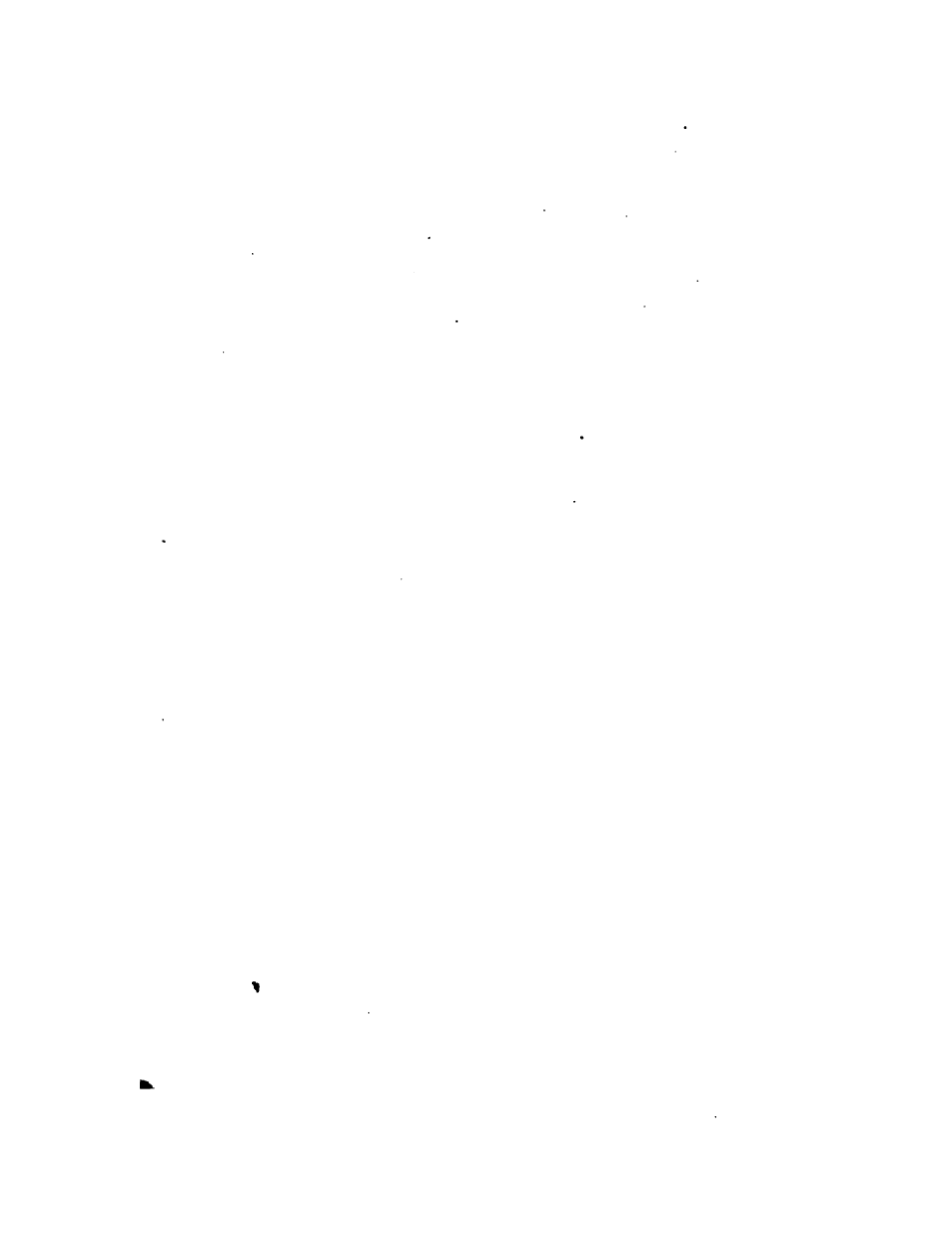
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